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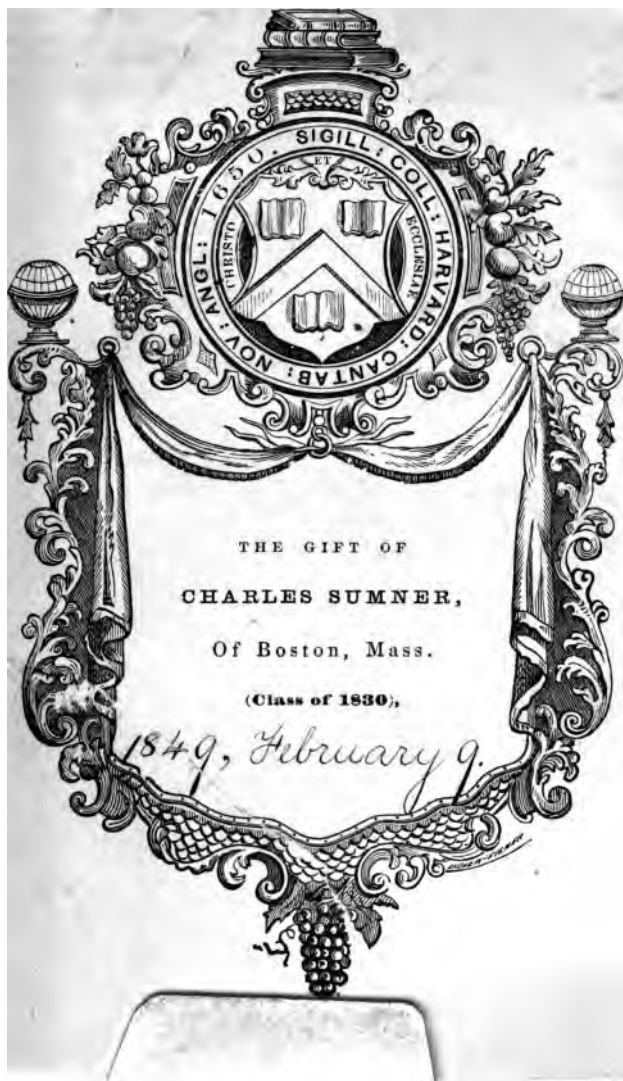
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4. The fourth part of the document is a literature review. It discusses the work of other researchers in the field and identifies gaps in the current knowledge.

5. The fifth part of the document is a methodology section. It describes the methods used to collect and analyze data.

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7. The seventh part of the document is a discussion section. It interprets the results and discusses their implications for the field.

8. The eighth part of the document is a conclusion. It summarizes the main findings and provides recommendations for future research.

9. The ninth part of the document is a references section. It lists the sources used in the document.

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14. The fourteenth part of the document is a list of footnotes. It provides additional information on the topics discussed in the document.



Charles Sumner
with the review
of the author

ARTICLES

FROM THE

"LONDON TIMES,"

AND

"New York Courier and Enquirer,"

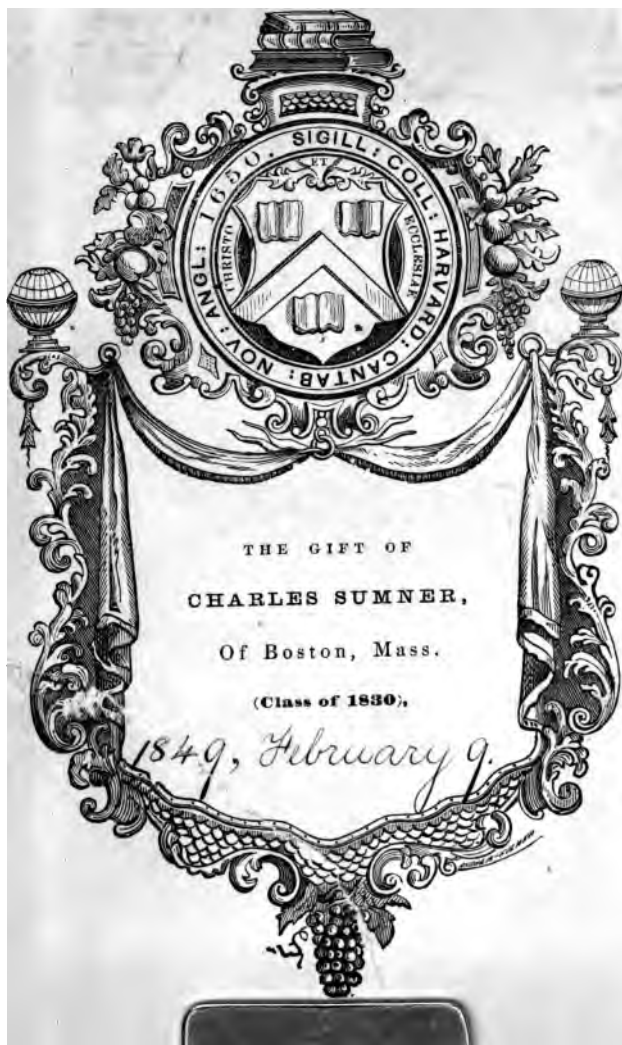
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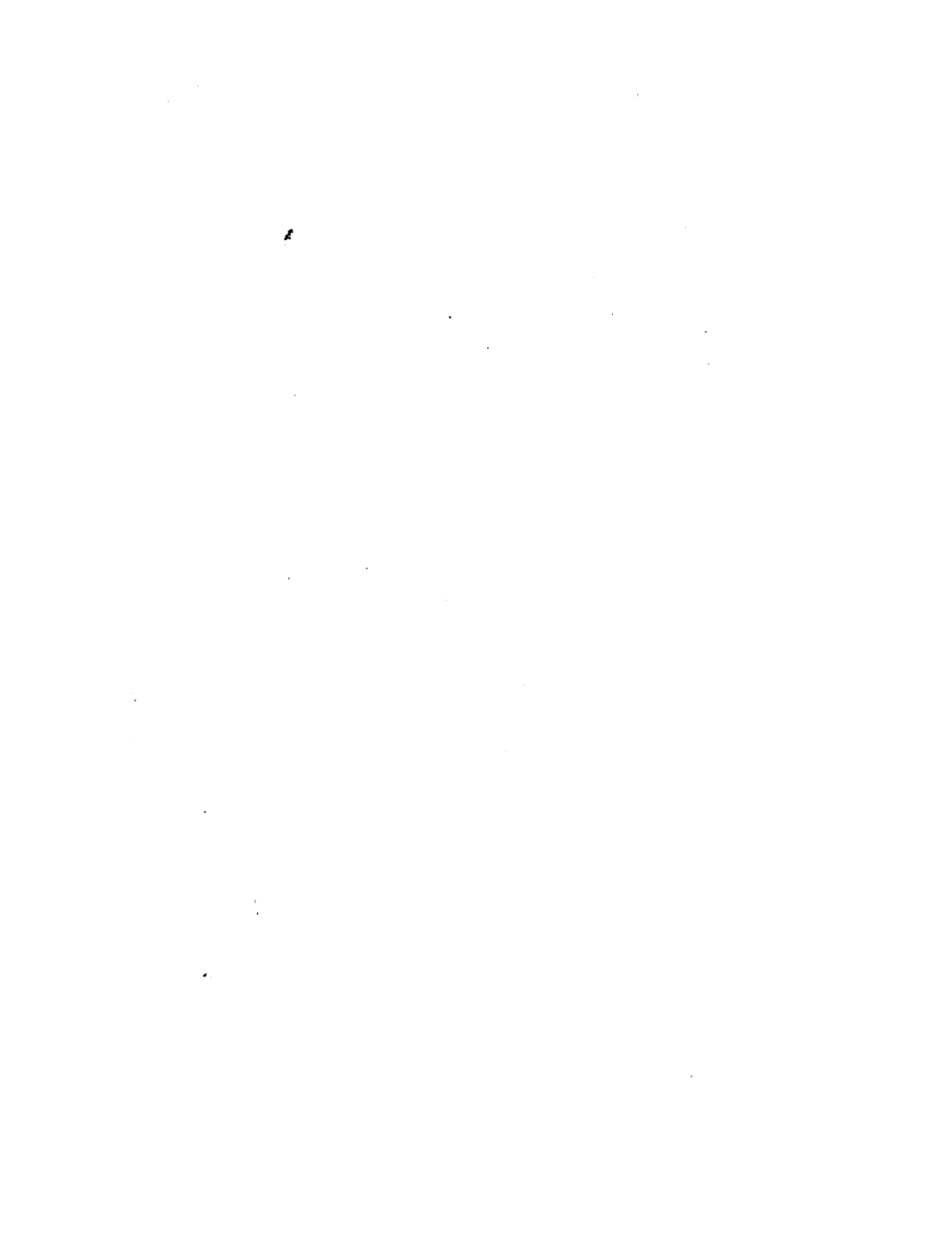
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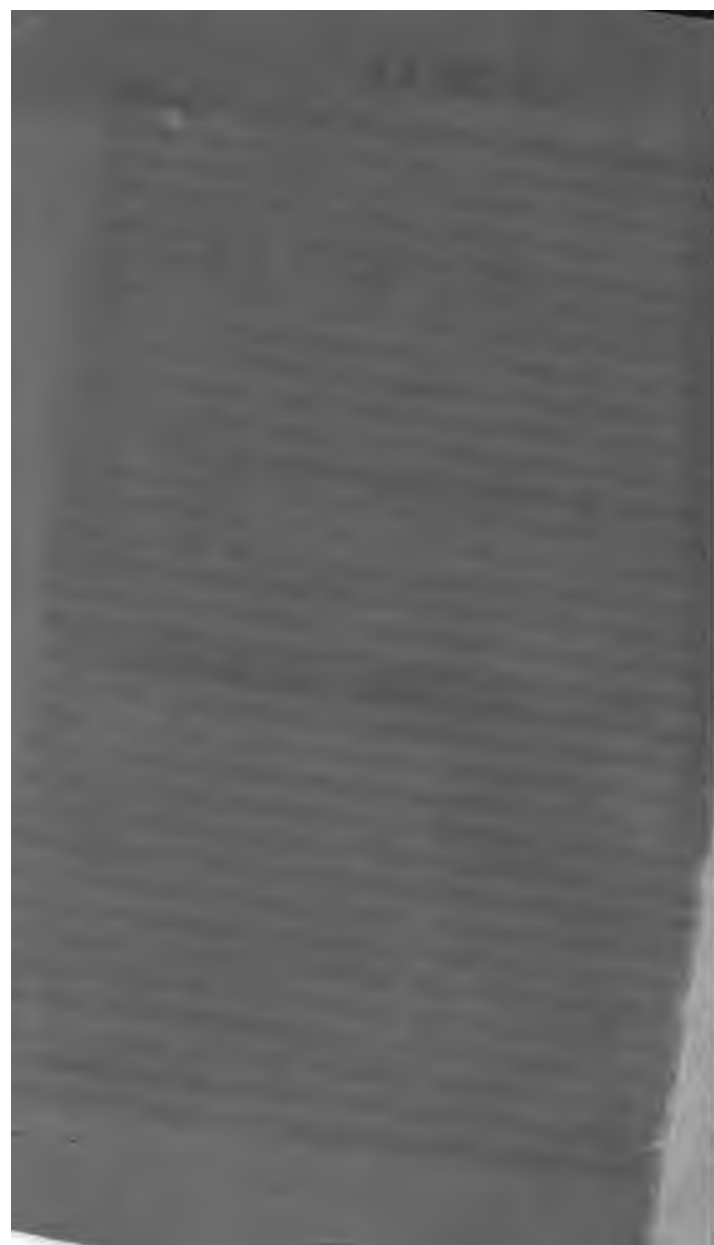
"LONDON TIMES,"

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A "STATESMAN'S" MAN.



ARTICLES

FROM THE

“LONDON TIMES,”

SIGNED

A “STATES” MAN,

WITH OTHERS FROM THE

“New York Courier and Enquirer,”

UNDER THE SAME SIGNATURE.

Edward Davis, Esq.



✓

BOSTON:
WILLIAM D. TICKNOR & COMPANY.
1847.

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1049. 209
Gift of Charles Sumner Esq,
of Boston

ARTICLES
FROM THE
“LONDON TIMES.”

ARTICLE I.

It is a matter of observation among the English that the inhabitants of the United States “hate them,” and would on the slightest provocation, or with no provocation at all, be glad to rush into a senseless war. This is not true, but it is so generally believed by them, that a very short time since I was requested to write a letter, demonstrating the contrary, to be put into the hands of one of the leading men in your country. We do *not* hate you, but all the actual wrongs you could heap upon us would hardly stir up such bitter blood as the venomous outpourings of the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals have done. Should you not rather seek for good than for evil in those of your own blood, and have you not much more to lose than to gain by exciting our evil passions, and by keeping us just at that point of irritation where you yourselves ought to be answerable for any act on our part which may eventuate in war?

I am a man of peace, and I cannot but think that the responsibility of those who strive to set brethren at strife, is

awful in the extreme. If, therefore, my poor persuasion can induce you or others to put less gall into your anathemas against my country, if not for our sakes and our children's sake, then for the sake of human happiness and civilization, endeavor to preserve that peace which God loves and man should not despise.

In order to preserve it between two powerful nations, it is of some consequence that their respective resources be not mutually undervalued. I admit that my countrymen, to judge from their frequent self-glorification, are either stupidly ignorant of, or grossly indifferent to, the immense numerical superiority of your war marine over ours ; but, on the other hand, our own means of annoyance in case of hostilities are vastly underrated by you. It is thought in England, because our public ships are not as one in ten to yours, that therefore our mercantile marine might be swept from the ocean, while yours remained almost unharmed. But you well know that a lancet can let life out as surely as a broadsword, and it needs no ghost of rich Indiaman, long sunk, to tell many a ruined family that a paltry privateer can do the work of destruction as effectually as the mightiest man-of-war with its hundred canons. And, taking into consideration the myriads of private armed vessels which would swarm from all our ports in spite of blockades, and the immense extent of your commerce, considerably greater than ours, I hazard nothing in declaring, if war should come, that, ship for ship and man for man, we should have no reason to fear the last "dead reckoning."

In your leading article of the 30th ult. you say, that "the effects of a state of war would be equally injurious to the interests and to the liberties of the (American) commonwealth." To the interests, yes ! but only temporarily and partially. Temporarily, because the States are yet too young to feel for any length of time the effects of a blow, however heavy, and

are possessed in a rare degree of that elasticity which youth alone possesses.

Were you to raze every town on our seaboard, (a thing impossible, as New York and Boston, not to mention other ports, I know, are so strongly fortified that no enemy could enter them); but, for the sake of argument, were you to give our cities to the flames and our ships to the waves, do you think the effects would be so durable as in an older country suffering under a like calamity? Do you believe that, a few years after earth's direst curse had passed, a vestige of it would remain?—that a people who, in less than the ordinary duration of human life, have turned thousands of barren spots into habitations which the heart of man delights in, would allow a second sun to shine upon the encumbered streets where their infant steps first trod?—or, that those who within the memory of middle age have distanced most competitors in the commercial race, and are now close upon the heels of the merchant princes of their parent isle, would leave their timber, their hemp, and their iron, for a single hour, while they straightened their backs beneath the blow that had bent them? No, Sir! The injuries to our interests would be but the history of a day. A young man can lose with impunity a pound of blood, while a single ounce from the veins of an old one, like the last ounce upon the camel's back, will kill.

Nor, while the storm lasted would its effects be more than partial. You seem to forget that foreign sources of luxuries and necessities once shut up, our manufactures, no longer in a rude state, as at the commencement of the last war, would be pushed into more dangerous competition with your own—an affair of life and death to no small portion of your population, but of wealth incalculable to millions of ours.

I have not the presumption to crowd your columns, even if permitted, with reasons why I think you are mistaken in sup-

posing that our "liberties, too, would suffer," and will merely say, if you mean our liberties in relation to our own rulers, that they are secured to us not by traditions, nor precedents, nor dicta, but by a written constitution, which, though from time to time, it may be violated by ignorant or rash or vicious men, can never be systematically perverted to private ends, because the people in their general intelligence know too well its value to let it be lost.

If, however, you mean our liberties as they relate to foreign nations, ask, I pray you, the first American you encounter, no matter of what party or of what politics, and he will tell you that at the least sign of war all the States would join with one accord, regardless of the justice of the cause, and defer till a more convenient season the discussion of their local animosities. You would learn, moreover, that whenever an anti-war cry has arisen in the midst of hostilities it has been as instantly stifled by the universal voice of the people. So far, indeed, is it from being believed among us that war would endanger the confederation, that not a few are heard openly to express the opinion that if it were to come every twenty years, it would serve to bind us more closely together, to knit up our ravelled sympathies, somewhat damaged by our ever-occurring elections, and to open our eyes to the value of the Union. Some, in their fear of a separation, even pray for a national debt. But, for my own part, I am firmly convinced there is not a cabin on the remotest skirts of our borders, nor a dwelling in our most populous cities, where the necessity of union requires to be taught by any such extraordinary means as these.

With respect to the Oregon dispute, I think with you, that the sooner it is settled the better will it be for all honest men in both countries, though it may disappoint a host of army contractors, speculators, and adventures, greedy for their

prey. I agree with you too in the opinion, that a refusal to submit one's claims to arbitration, when negotiation fails, is *prima facie* evidence against the party so refusing. But has negotiation failed? I believe not, and I have just learned from a most intelligent source that there are yet good grounds for trusting that it will not. For this reason I do not, like you, "ground all hopes of a settlement on arbitration," though, as a *dernier resort*, I can conceive of nothing more desirable on the score of interest or of honor, especially where territory is concerned; and, notwithstanding a prevailing notion among my countrymen that their claims, being the claims of republicans, would not stand a fair chance beside those of England if submitted to the award of a crowned King, I am quite sure, could any thing like unfairness enter into the decision, that England herself—rich and powerful England, the object of envy to the European world, would be the more likely victim.

Your correspondent "A. B." asks, "If the degradation of the Republic" (a thing taken for granted) "is not caused by the conduct of the Americans themselves, who by deliberate and public frauds, have excluded themselves from the community of civilization?" and gives, as a reason for the affirmative of the proposition, an answer which would raise a smile, were it not for the sympathy one feels for the unfortunate. He says that in 1839 he loaned a sum of money to one of our states, which in 1845 it cannot or will not repay. So then, because Illinois, an individual of our vast confederation, rashly, but not in bad faith, for aught that appears, made to "A. B." a promise six years ago which she cannot now redeem, (for, be it remarked, her willingness to pay has always been manifest), our Republic, forsooth, is "degraded," and we, in the mass, as under an excommunication of old, are "excluded from the community of civilization." Verily, even

*Charles Sumner
with the
of the author*

ARTICLES

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AND

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Edward John Child



✓
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BOSTON:
WILLIAM D. TICKNOR & COMPANY.
1847.

as we all know, uncalled-for counsel, even from a friend, is generally contemned, and too often, even if followed, rendered worse than useless by the drag-chain of unwillingness, which clogs its good intent. But, if it be lawful to be taught by an enemy, why should it be less so to receive useful suggestions from those who, after their own country, regard in the bottom of their hearts yours with a pride and an affection not unworthy a fatherland ?

From some of the late English papers, it seems to be a general impression that the American supply of wheat but little exceeds the home consumption, and that therefore it would avail you nothing to open your ports and let it come in on reasonable and certain conditions. Assuming, without admitting, this to be true, there is no intelligent countryman of mine but will tell you, that with trade less shackled than it is, our labor being free from every municipal vexation, a demand, however great, upon an almost boundless territory, a grateful soil, and an industrious people, could never be made in vain. Whence comes it that we have not more wheat if, after satisfying our own wants, only little remains for exportation,—we who, by every law that can apply to the case, are pre-eminently an agricultural people, and would have willingly kept, in the words of Jefferson, our workshops in Europe for ever, had you not forced us by your high-pressure policy to become manufacturers ourselves ? It is because we have too much of your own calculating Saxon blood in our veins, not rendered more sluggish by a burning sun, to waste our strength in sowing where we cannot reap an ample fold. It is because we find it more profitable to raise tobacco, cotton, rice, and Indian corn—the last in such abundance that neither man nor beast can need—than to fill our barns and our ware-houses with that whose sale depends upon a scale so barometrically slippery that we dare not trust ourselves to its sliding mercies.

ARTICLES
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ARTICLE I.

It is a matter of observation among the English that the inhabitants of the United States "hate them," and would on the slightest provocation, or with no provocation at all, be glad to rush into a senseless war. This is not true, but it is so generally believed by them, that a very short time since I was requested to write a letter, demonstrating the contrary, to be put into the hands of one of the leading men in your country. We do *not* hate you, but all the actual wrongs you could heap upon us would hardly stir up such bitter blood as the venomous outpourings of the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals have done. Should you not rather seek for good than for evil in those of your own blood, and have you not much more to lose than to gain by exciting our evil passions, and by keeping us just at that point of irritation where you yourselves ought to be answerable for any act on our part which may eventuate in war?

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duly signed and executed, but fraudulently issued by its legal fabricators, and moreover, that he can recover upon it.

He rather plaintively exclaims in conclusion, that "England gained nothing while Mississippi received the proceeds of her bonds." What then ? does he reckon for nothing the conservation of his country's honor, or does he envy Mississippi her paltry gains at the expense of her reputation ?

Paris, Nov. 23, 1845.

ARTICLE V.

We have the high authority of Dr. Johnson, if we needed any, that there is a world of moral difference between one who "lies unwittingly" and him who "knows that he lies;" and, although I am far from thinking that some of your weekly newspapers, deliberately, and with malice aforethought, put forth on American affairs what they know to be false, yet my conviction is that they commit an offence scarcely less heinous in *foro conscientiæ*, when, like the stabber in the dark, carelessly searching for his foe, they let off their random shots in the direction of my country, wilfully reckless whether they "hit or miss."

They are "still harping on my daughter" I find—still fumbling at the Oregon question—at Mr. Polk and his policy, like an ignorant machinist, with monkey-like mischievousness, affecting to scrutinize what surpasses his powers of comprehension. According to them, Oregon is but a "quarry," out of which our President's "temple of fame" is to be hewn, if England will only "stand like a sheep to be shorn, as did

- Mexico ;" Mr. Polk is a "villager who never wagged the tongue nor wielded the pen ;" and his policy is to make a "hero of himself," cost what it may to his country.

Now, all this is doubtless very convenient to fill a column or two, which, it would not be consistent with a paper's healthy circulation to blacken every day with tamer stuff. It is "fun" too for the "groundlings," though, like the venomous insect's sting to the hunted stag, it may help in a small way to hurry into death-breeding confusion the higher tiers of society. But, is it true? Is it true that we are the arrogant swash-bucklers which they describe us to be ; that our President is the god of his own imagination, in the "temple of whose fame" his country, if necessary, must be sacrificed ; and that his policy is war to the knife, unless that deity be propitiated ? I think not ; and, if I be mistaken, then have these writers stumbled upon the truth in a most "miraculous manner." And I believe not, because their information can hardly equal in accuracy that which is within my reach ; coming as it does from those who, with reason, speak as men, "having authority and not as the scribes."

On the day of the arrival of the last United States' mail by the steamer, I received a communication from a gentleman, inferior only to our chief magistrate in rank, and inferior to no one in honesty, to whom I had freely expressed opinions, held by me at a former period, in common with many others no better informed than myself, respecting the apparently warlike disposition of our Cabinet, and its novel claim to the whole of a territory, hitherto admitted, on all hands, to be a "debateable land." As he is of the Administration party, and a man incapable of wilfully deceiving any one, his words, though never intended for publication, may not, perhaps, be deemed unworthy of a place in your journal. "Mark me," was his reply, "whenever the President's message arrives in

Europe, you and all men will clearly see that it is not we, but the English, who have been exacting and unreasonable ; that it is they who have always thrown obstacles in the way of an amicable settlement of our difficulties ; and that the justice of our cause will be made manifest to all the world, as well as the probity and courtesy with which it has been maintained ; and this will delight you." And it did delight me ; for though I dread an unrighteous war as much as any man, especially with England, from whom we have so much to apprehend, still, with our " quarrel just," I entertain no fear as to the results, seeing that it would be a war not of party but of principle, and one which would enlist the sympathies of not only all the American states, but of all the countries of Europe in our favor.

It seems, too, that the proposition lately made by our Secretary of State as a new basis to treat upon was not a mere repetition of former offers, but that it comprised a concession of greater extent than had ever been made by us before, and one quite sufficient for your Government at least to entertain, especially just at this moment, when it evidently cares much less about territory than it does about the national honor, supposed to be at stake. But Mr. Packenham did not consider it to be admissible, whereupon it was instantly withdrawn, much to the dissatisfaction, as I understand, of his Government, which is far from being pleased at his so abruptly closing a door which might have conducted to a quiet adjustment of a difficult, and hitherto, in some respects, an ill-managed affair.

" But I know not how the truth may be ;
I tell the tale as 'twas told to me."

For I would carefully, and even conscientiously, avoid that presumptuous style of certain writers of the day, who seem to

think, "Sir Oracle" like, that when they "ope their mouths no dog must bark;" while I will tell them, if they do not already know it, that even in the hands of a fool a firebrand is a dangerous missile, which once thrown may not at will be gathered up again; and that my countrymen in usurping the soil of the red man, did not leave that peculiar attribute of his unappropriated, which never forgets or forgives an unprovoked and unexpiated injury.

Paris, Dec. 10, 1845.

ARTICLE VI.

That "nothing good could come out of Nazareth," was a no more self-evident proposition to the Jews of old, than that nothing but evil can spring from American parentage, is a matter of faith to certain countrymen of yours, who, I doubt not, had they flourished in the time of our Saviour, would have lived and died, in spite of miracles, the victims to their exaggerated self-esteem. And I verily believe that, could the embodied spirit of wisdom itself descend in the shape of an American Presidential Message, these carping gentry would contrive to pick a hole or make a rent in even such a "divine perfection," while striving to tack on their churlish commentaries to its skirts.

Two* of your leading journals—the one Whig, the other Conservative—in dealing with our President's late communication to Congress, remind me strongly of a fellow I once saw

* *Chronicle and Standard* of the 23d inst.

cuffing a pugnacious mastiff with one hand, and holding out a tempting bone with the other—balancing between his hopes and his fears, and undecided as to the wisdom of coaxing or bullying the unmanageable brute. In like manner, and almost in the same breath, they call his counsels “intemperate, insane, blustering and threatening gasconades,” and then throw him a Corn Law repeal sop to soothe what they are pleased to term “their most dangerous and impracticable opponent.” But in the midst of their hot though fluttering displeasure, I must admit that they pay, however unintentionally, the highest possible compliment to the “American people, who,” in their own words, “will sacrifice the passion nearest and dearest to their hearts, if they can thereby gain a truly national object.” This is indeed praise greater than we ever dared to covet for our “Anglo-Saxon character,” though attended by the drawback, according to them, of that “character’s being marked with degeneracy from the parent stock.”

I have carefully read several times that portion of the message which relates to the Oregon territory ; and I am constrained in the spirit of fairness to declare that it appears to me manly, modest, and firm, and not unbecoming the exalted station which, unsought for by him, its author now occupies. The first five paragraphs of it are taken up with a simple narrative of what had been done by his predecessors in office ; the sixth, with what were his convictions and consequent measures on assuming the responsibilities of the chief magistracy ; and the rest, with what he proposes to do, provided that it can be effected without violating, “even in spirit,” the mutual occupation convention, to which he almost reverentially alludes no less than four times in tones of warning too serious to be mistaken. He concludes this part of his subject by throwing himself “with deference” upon the wisdom of Congress,

whose suggestions will be met by him with "hearty concurrence."

Now, nothing can be gained but merited ill-will by attempting to distort and vilify language like this ; for even among foes, and much more between two nations bound by ties of blood and interest to friendship, honesty is the wiser policy ; and sure am I that these very writers themselves, would have been the first to twit, as crafty and pusillanimous, the man who could shrink from declaring and acting up to opinions, whether right or wrong in their eyes, which he once formally enunciated, and which, it is evident, he yet in all sincerity entertains.

In your number of the 24th inst., though you courteously allow that the "President's style is unusually readable, simple and clear," yet you find fault with him for "taking great credit to himself for having made an offer which he acknowledges to be less than what the British Government has repeatedly declined." But in my humble opinion, even without considering the high motives which induced him to propose more liberal terms than he would have done had he had the initiation of the negotiation, he is fully entitled to take credit to himself for the offer, whatever it was, since it is now known to me, on still better authority than it was when I wrote my letter of the 10th inst., that Mr. Pakenham rejected the said offer without consulting Lord Aberdeen, and received but niggard thanks from his employers for his injudicious precipitation.

Whatever may be Mr. Polk's sins of omission or commission, it cannot be said that he has been other than frank in the exposition of his views and intentions ; nor can he or his countrymen, in their foreign relations, be accused of the least tincture of Gallic cunning, but much rather of that rash disposition to "cut the knot" and "throw away the scabbard,"

perchance before the sword be ready, which, if it gain not your love, must at least command your respect. Nor can it be pretended that he has curried favor with that Power whose creeping policy in the Texan affair, so signally defeated, has just received at his hands a rebuke, which it would feel the more keenly were it convicted, as I have been assured more than once that it well might be, of, while holding out the hand of good-fellowship to England, having attempted, at the time of the insurrection in her Canadian possessions, the same game which it had so successfully played at an earlier period in the history of the North American colonies.

Notwithstanding all the magnificent promises made by the preachers of the *entente cordiale*, you will one day find that the French dread and dislike you, as much as you, in your secret souls, undervalue—I had almost said despise—them ; and whether their most wise Sovereign (who would sacrifice every thing to peace, save his own dynasty) live or die, you will learn at the eleventh hour, should a war arise between our two countries, that not even he, except at too dear a cost, could prevent them from rushing into it, to take vengeance on you for mortifications, under which they have never ceased to writhe. Do not build any hopes of sympathy from them on the shallow trickery of the Guizot Administration ; for there is here, as all the world knows, but one lord and master, who is Louis Phillippe, with his velvet-covered gauntlet ; and he said, not long since, to one of my countrymen in high station, “Why do you not increase your navy ? It is that to which you should direct your attention. And as to the Oregon,” he added, “the English might as well lay claim to New Orleans as to any part of it.” I regret that I cannot with propriety give my authority for this, but it is entitled to credit, as I was most positively assured of its truth at the house of a gentleman not unknown to fame, where my good

fortune has thrown me into the company of some of the most distinguished men of the day.

It is very convenient, doubtless, for the King and his Prime Minister to play at fast and loose between two parties, as did the rich landowner and his heir-at-law in your civil commotions, to avoid a confiscation whichever side went to the wall ; but it is not less convenient, I apprehend, and quite as safe, for you to be confirmed, in what cannot but be your misgivings as to their double-dealing, by one who is upon the spot and a "looker on" in Paris.

Paris, Dec. 29, 1845.

ARTICLE VII.

For weeks past, it has rejoiced me much to see that an honorable peace between your country and mine, has been the professed object of leading articles such as appear in your journal, and in no other; but I am so fully aware that it needs not my poor testimony to procure their due praise for high talents, so nobly exercised in the noblest of all causes, that I would have remained silent, had it not been for the hope of being listened to for a moment, while I remonstrate with you on the sudden change of sentiments manifested in your number of the 26th instant, wherein, having first discussed Mr. Pakenham's proceedings at Washington, you indulge in one of your tirades of former days against us, with a gusto akin to that with which we return to our first love. Instead of maintaining your former high, but conciliatory tone—the offspring apparently of honest intention, and conscious strength—you

descend to personalities, such as our "nasal jargon, our bad grammar, and our worse principle;" and you condescend to act the part of one, who, fearing that his dignity has been compromised in the eyes of an antagonist by too gentlemanly a bearing, without waiting the result, strives to redeem his imaginary error, and to demonstrate that he was not under the influence of fear, by redoubling abuse once deliberately rejected as worse than useless. Why you rejected it I cannot say, unless it was that you perceived there was a certain sort of blood in our veins, which, though not English, is sure to boil at an insult, though it may remain lukewarm at an injury; nor can I tell why you did not persist in such a wise rejection, when, to quote your own words, you knew that "a spicy article in a newspaper is sufficient to kindle a flame, which the blood of thousands can alone quench," and must have known, too, that such an effusion as yours might perchance furnish materials to the mischievous, wherewith to light a conflagration, by whose lingering embers ages to come would trace with shame and tears the blight upon civilization that it had left behind.

Do you on reflection really believe that "the war policy against America would be supported by men of liberal views, of disciplined minds, and of intellects refined by thought into the most repulsive fastidiousness?" If you do, I pray God to save me from such self-delusion, and to protect the world from the effects of such "liberality, discipline, and refinement," which, if they exist except in fancy, must be the bastard produce of that "unnecessary luxury, a regal government, and that expensive metaphor, a crown;" and at the best can be but a poor set-off, however ready to leap to a bloody conclusion, against the decaying affections of the Irish people, and the decayed state of their sole means of subsistence.

I have reason to believe, and my sources of information are not bad, that the English Government just at this moment is in the awkward predicament of a man, who, having made a claim in the dark upon a neighbor, in the beginning, no better informed than himself as to their mutual rights, now that truth has fairly dawned upon both parties, finds it rather difficult to extricate himself with credit from the false position into which his unfounded, but not dishonest, pretensions have hurried him; and that, if negotiations respecting the Oregon territory were now to be entered upon for the first time, a boundary line could be run as fast as it could be travelled over, and that, too, without the intervention of an umpire to decide, when the commissioners were not of accord.

Will you permit me to express my regret and astonishment, that a person of your far-reaching sagacity should join in O'Connell's peevish cry about slavery?—that bane which the English themselves forced upon us years ago, in spite of our earnest remonstrance, and which they now revile us for, without even suggesting an antidote for eradicating it from our constitution. When the "thirteen states" became a nation, it was by a compromise among conflicting interests, which, had it proved a failure, would have left them a set of disjointed links, and a scoff and a by-word for those who contend that man is unfitted for self-government. And the only means of avoiding so great a calamity—for calamity it would have been to the human race, notwithstanding the passion of your countrymen for "expensive metaphors"—was to tolerate the curse which their English ancestors had bequeathed to them. To this end a solemn compact was entered into, that not the general, but the State governments should alone have power to legislate on a subject so hostile, I admit, to the spirit of our institutions, and by this compact is the government of the United States still bound. Your would-be philanthropists had

much better look to their own laborers than to our slaves, who are better fed and lodged than the white serf, their decrepit parents and helpless children better cared for, and themselves better protected against the vicissitudes of old age. Or, if they will meddle in a matter which they can nowise benefit—if they will persist in doing evil that good may come out of it, I would fain entreat them—I, who am from an Eastern State, where there are no slaves, and look with undiluted disgust on slavery, whether it assume the shape of physical bondage as with us, or of moral servitude as with you—to propose one feasible scheme for ridding ourselves of the plague spot, without ruining the land and its owners, and entailing worse than death on its black cultivators; and if we do not adopt it without delay, then may they go on with their vituperations, and we will forever hold our peace. No one in his senses, I presume, would counsel the same experiment which you made in your West India Islands, even if it had not signally failed, as no two cases less parallel to each other could be found.

You twit us, too, in the article above alluded to, with the administration among us of what is termed Lynch law, when such a thing is neither justified nor excused by any American, nor has ever had more than an occasional existence in distant and infant communities, where the arm of inchoate justice was too short to save the dearest of all relations from being violated by the lusts and passions of lawless invaders. To charge us with being subject to such a monster, is as absurd as to call Englishmen assassins, because murder is rife in Ireland—a country on your very threshold, when compared to our western borders in relation to the Atlantic States,—and because now and then a man is shot down at mid-day in the streets of London.* You judge and condemn a whole nation

* Sir Robert Peel's secretary, mistaken for the baronet himself, had, shortly before this was written, been assassinated in a crowded thoroughfare.

on the presentation of isolated facts, and yet you will not purchase a dwelling-house on the mere inspection of individual bricks. "Fair and softly go far," is a wise saying; and if you are sincere, as I believe you to be, in your love of peace, you should recollect that rough grooming, where not the blood but the skin is thin, is apt to render the steed restiff at times, and is always dangerous.

Paris, Jan. 30, 1846.

ARTICLE VIII.

[*Note by the Editor of the Times.*—The plain principle of *audi alteram partem* has induced us to publish a letter on the political institutions of the United States, which will be found in another place, over the signature of a "States' man." But without this, the letter itself has intrinsic merits, both of thought and style, which make it well deserving of a place in our columns. The writer has studied with effect the history of his country; and with no little art concentrates into one focus the scattered rays of light that shed a lustre upon the general government of the Union.]

Among other reasons for thinking our government "too feeble to restrain bad impulses, and our population too excitable to be conscious of consequences," a "moonstruck madman's" speech, and the manner in which it was listened to in the United States House of Representatives, seem with you to rank among the foremost. Without stopping to inquire whether it is his "much learning that has made him mad," if Mr. Quincy Adams be really mad, (for learning, even if his wits be disordered, he possesses to a degree seldom equalled in Europe or America,) and without uttering a suspicion that the superstructure, reared on such a professedly crazy foun-

dation, may be unsound, allow me to ask in what, and on what occasion, the general government at Washington has exhibited feebleness, and wherein has our population betrayed an excitability which is regardless of consequences?

Since we came into being, which was but as yesterday in the history of nations, it can be said without a boast, that there is not a quarter of the globe that will not bear witness to the strength and energy of our Executive in its foreign relations. Were we not the first to refuse tribute to the Algerine, while all Europe was laying its black mail at his feet? Did we follow or lead in declaring and making the slave trade subject to the penalties of piracy—which was at least one step towards purgation from the black plague inherited from our ancestors? Was our claim upon the kingdom of Naples for indemnification suffered to grow weak through age? Had France any repose till the 25,000,000 of francs were paid? And, in these latter days, was not Texas annexed in spite of foreign interference?

But perhaps the feeble nature of our government develops itself only at home. Well, then, at home. Did it not quell a most portentous insurrection in Pennsylvania, and that, too, while its powers were in their infancy, without shedding a single drop of blood? Did it not, in its full strength, stifle South Carolina's nullification scheme with a menace? Did it not easily crush a monster bank conspiracy? And finally, has it not recently, in scorn of domestic opposition, added a new territory to its own?

Should weakness in the art of defence ever be charged against it, the voices from English graves throughout the country, honored wherever found, would be far too many not to gainsay the slander. And if its power of offence be doubted or forgotten, not the wide ocean alone, but your very channels, whose waves almost kiss the lintels of your doors, could,

if their records were not written in water, bear witness to its reality. The smoke, too, from many a richly laden convoy, was wafted too often, with a not sweet smelling savour, to the nostrils of their armed but too distant guardians, to convict the aggressors of inoffensiveness.

As to the excitability of a population, no part of which corresponds to the English mob, or the French *canaille*, and to none of whose members the common rudiments of education are strange, it is vain to speculate on its evil results; for intelligence goes hand and hand with it, and the cool, calculating spirit of my countrymen, is a sufficient guarantee that it will never lead them into danger.

Tried by the Procrustean standard of Europe, I doubt not that we should often be pronounced out of measure, and that even upon the floor of Congress, certain scenes might be curtailed to advantage; but that "one branch of the most important legislative assembly of the new world should listen with interest and excitement" to our "lunatic" ex-President's most original exhibition, ought no more to raise your wonder, than that the House of Commons should be amused by a ludicrous description of a noble lord's coal-hole escapade, or that it should now and then uproariously cheer on "Young England's" champion to badger a man who is to him like Jupiter to a rejected satellite.*

As, in common with my countrymen here, I no longer regard the Oregon question as a war question, with your permission I will add a line or two respecting what is described by you to be "the threatening state of our relations with Mexico." Your intelligent correspondent in that unhappy country might have told you that, as against a powerful antagonist, it is more helpless than a wailing child, whether for

* Sir Robert Peel and Mr. D'Israeli.

offence or defence, because it is like a "house divided against itself;" that it can no more prevent the flood of emigration from the States into California, and its consequences, be they what they may, than could the red man close his forests against the inundation of the whites; and that, though it may declare war till it is "hoarse with calling," it can never make it, unless perchance, which I do not suspect, some European nations come to its aid, and then, without time even to see the forecast shadow of coming events, one universal howl of war, on both sides of the Atlantic, will for many a year be heard, smothering in its death echo the voice of peace.

Our "democratic pretences," I sincerely believe, are entirely misunderstood in Europe, especially as they regard territory. We want none of your possessions, and Canada, we should be much less thankful for than you yourselves would be to get honorably rid of a colony which is ravenous as a horseleech and ungrateful as its own soil.

No! pretences, unjust pretences, if they have an existence, time will show that they are not on our side. But in the eyes of some, because we are professed Republicans, and having power choose to use it as to us seems best, we therefore and our claims are arrogance itself; and, because we will not that kings or nobles should have dominion over us, we are for that reason "of the earth earthy," and on the high road to anarchy and confusion. And what is most "strange and unnatural" is, that it is not those who are divinely hedged about and stand in high places that are in general our self-deluded or malicious traducers, but mere men, un noble and untitled men like ourselves, who, having sucked in with their mother's milk an overweening reverence for rank, cannot bear to see others, void of sympathy for their weakness, asserting and maintaining the dignity of their common nature.

Paris, March 18, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

I did not intend to intrude again upon your thickly serried columns, at least while they were teeming with messages of glory from England's Indian empire ; but your correspondent of the 1st inst., " M. J. H.," seems so sad amid the general rejoicing, when dwelling on what " Republican integrity was twenty years ago," that I have not the heart to let his touching murmurs go by without an attempt to administer consolation to his perturbed spirit.

He is a " large holder," he says, " of American securities." Fortunate man ! I would that I too could assert the same of myself ; especially if, as was the case with him for aught that appears, I had purchased them before they rose from their first fall. And still more fortunate will he be, if he can afford to hold them for a while longer, when, unless the most sagacious among us be mistaken, he will receive his wept-for treasures, with something better as an accompaniment than he of the " folded napkin " was able to render up at the bidding of his lord.

But, as he may wish to know the grounds of my belief in the goodness of these securities, which, according to him, are most " facetiously " misnamed, I will inform him that in my humble opinion there is more than one upon which his anxious and angry heart will find a resting place. The bankrupt states, it must console him to know, will, if they remain defaulters a moment longer than stern necessity demands, have public opinion throughout the Union to contend against—no mean antagonist, when it is considered that its sway is more

powerful with us than with any other people under the sun ; then, in a very few years their rapidly increasing population, added to their incalculable sources of wealth, will make the payment of their debts so easy, that there will not be room to assume to themselves even a virtue in doing it ; and the last, though not least firm ground I go upon is, that their interests, about which they are so "careful," will imperatively demand that justice to their creditors be done. In a single word, they cannot afford to be dishonest.

I am accused of "omitting to touch upon the fraudulent insolvency of many of the states of the Union." But my pen must have been long indeed could it have touched what, so far as fraud is concerned, a resentful fancy alone has conjured up. One state alone has repudiated, and that only a part of its bonds. Its reasons for doing so, whether good or bad, are before the world ; and you were so obliging a few months ago as to publish my poor views upon the subject, to which I beg leave to refer "M. J. H." since he demands them, but without venturing to repeat what I then said. If, however, he be really bent upon informing himself as to public delinquency, I would advise him, while about it, to look into the records of the Bank of England, and inquire for the number of years during which, by act of Parliament, it strove to cover the nakedness of its credit with depreciated rags ; and he will learn that when the people asked for specie, though stones were not literally substituted for bread, they received a paper currency, which not even a tyrannical law could prevail on them to accept as an equivalent for what had been promised them. Perhaps, then, he will admit, that if the fifth of a century was required by the richest country in the world to redeem its plighted faith, a little space may well be allowed to a few infant states, with nothing but broad lands

and brawny arms to depend upon, wherein to collect their "hundred pieces of silver."

Should he again converse with his "many honorable and respectable American friends," I would bid him beware of ascribing to them an "admission" of their countrymen's want of probity; for they know, as well as he himself ought, that it is the temporary poverty of the defaulting states, and not their will, which consents to the duration of their present embarrassment. And if, as he declares, they allege, in extenuation of state defalcation, the "deplorable weakness of the Executive," he may give the lie to their intelligence, with a salvo to their honor, if it suits him, by telling them that the weakness or the strength of the Executive of the United States has no more to do with state liabilities than with the election of the Lord Mayor of London.

I am next charged with vain boasting, though nothing was said by me, except in defence of my country and of truth. And no less than three paragraphs are devoted to a pretended quotation of my words, which are so "lamely and unfashionably" put together in their new estate, that I verily believe the dogs would bark at their halting pace, could they be made to listen to them. Why did not your correspondent, when honoring me with his notice, rather betake himself, like one endowed with reason, to answering my questions and meeting my arguments, and why did he not try to demonstrate the feebleness of the United States Government abroad and its imbecility at home, if such things be, instead of peevishly putting into the mouths of grave legislators the puerile bravado of "preferring war with all the world to the payment of their debts?" Unless a blind as well as a deaf devil has possessed him, he might have much better employed his time in ascertaining whether his debtors are really fraudulent or

merely unfortunate, before bedewing them with the stingless venom of an angry man.

If he be a "great holder" of American securities, let him, for his own sake, become also an intelligent one, and no more indulge in idle prating about "some" of the states repudiating, and "others" doing it with "indignation." And let him give himself no solicitude respecting our honor, for we know what is due to it, equally well with what belongs to our creditors; and he, with all his tribe, may sleep in conviction tenfold strong that the claims of neither shall be neglected. He cannot, I think, be so maliciously obtuse as to persist in the belief that a debt contracted with the expectation and probable means of repayment, and always acknowledged to be due, is in itself a subject of disgrace, however much it may be a source of regret to all parties concerned.

He may "assume," without fear of contradiction, "that a fraudulent bankrupt is considered as infamous by Americans as he is by Europeans," and out of his own mouth will I convict him of inconsistency. For never have the defaulting states, though blamed as rash and imprudent, been despised or esteemed infamous by their more fortunate confederates, nor, indeed, by any European, unless his passion blinded him, or his ignorance led him astray.

You will observe that I do not choose to mix up the solvent with the insolvent states, any more than I would calumniate the English and the Scotch, because Ireland is a hot-bed of assassination. Nor will I admit the liability of our General Government for state debts, unless, by parity of reasoning, you too will allow that your own is responsible for all bankrupt corporations in the kingdom, that of Edinburgh included, and for every broken-down county bank, if any such exist.

If "M. J. H." never took the pains, as his present benighted condition would imply, to ascertain the extent and strength

of the securities on which he loaned his money, to whom does he owe thanks for his losses but to himself alone ? He affects to "despise, dislike, and laugh at us," but we have not leisure to listen to the hysteric giggles or the unmanly complaints of a victim to his own greediness and negligence.

Paris, April 4th, 1846.

ARTICLE X.

A London daily paper of this week "disputed the propriety of (your) insulting so great and so good a man as Mr. Webster, by placing him in rivalry with such a false and shabby creature as Mr. Dallas."

Now, without wishing, even if I had the power, to detract one jot or tittle from the high and well-won reputation of the "great and good" Whig leader, and without stopping to make a single comment upon the extreme delicacy and refined taste exhibited in the above quotation towards the American Vice-President, I would gladly continue in juxtaposition, only for a moment, the names of these two distinguished individuals, so gratuitously brought together for the purpose of extolling one at the expense of the other. For if it can be shown, that in the most important passages of the political lives of these gentlemen, one has done what the other has not left undone, it necessarily follows, that either of the two having been "false and shabby," his fellow must be so too, and that either having been "great and good," he cannot stand alone in his glory. Mr. Dallas was a protectionist, and

is become a freetrader ; Mr. Webster was a federalist, and is now a democratic Whig. But mark the difference between their coats when they were turned, and draw what conclusions you will. The former found his rough to the touch, and though serviceable, an object of ridicule and censure, while the latter felt no surprise at discovering his to be richly lined throughout, though of no fixed color.

In this working-day world, however, we have hardly time for splitting hairs about the comparative moral qualities of this or of that public man, since it is by their works, and not by their motives, that they must be judged, as it is with their works alone that we, the "mob," the "many," have anything to do. The protective system, well tried in England, was found wanting, and Sir R. Peel, who rode into office on it, preferred catching a fall himself in securing its overthrow to journeying upon an easy road, which, however long, he saw must infallibly end in ruin. The same suicidal system, bolstered up in America by golden arguments and highly feed advocates at Washington, has at length met with a Curtius ready to make the plunge fatal to it, and, notwithstanding all that is said and done against the self sacrificer, many a fellow senator who once stood by, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," if the vote were to be taken again upon the tariff question, would be found by his side, shoulder to shoulder, in support of the common interests of their common country. For there is no more chance of the American people, once emancipated, becoming a second time hewers of wood and drawers of water to those who were the protected "few," than there is of the galled jade's yearning for the collar which has worn its neck to a raw. And so slight is the probability of the high and noble workers in the liberal cause, though under a temporary shade, eventually falling before their low and mercenary opponents, that, New Englander as I am, and

with all my interests dependent on New England's prosperity, I have no fear lest the scales should not fall from the eyes of the monopolists, convinced, as they will soon be, of the wisdom of contenting themselves with a profit that shall feed their own households without impoverishing those of others.

But facts are of more value than opinions, however numerous or plausible the latter, if the facts cannot be gainsaid, and the opinions want the sanction of a name. And the first to be mentioned which will defy all contradiction is, that the American manufacturers, so far from needing protection, have for some time past been underselling their English competitors in one of your East India markets, even with a duty of 12 per cent. to contend against, which has lately been raised to 15 ; while the net returns upon their capital have for years been between 20 and 40-fold, which, of course, could come from the pockets of the consumers alone, and in 19 cases of 20 the home consumers. And another fact, not less incontrovertible and important, is the physical, to say nothing of the moral, impossibility of the tariff of the many being metamorphosed back into the tariff of the few. During nearly three years, at least, the present President of the United States will have a large majority in the Senate, and, even setting this aside, still two-thirds of both Houses at Washington can alone suffice to render his *veto* of no effect. Then, after the expiration of these three years, and when the light of experience has had full time to cheer and comfort both the interested and benighted, who can believe that the proverbial sagacity of the Eastern Yankee will not discover how much more desirable is a certain profit of 10 and 15 per cent. for all time to come, than heavy gains whose own weight must sink them in the end ?

That Mr. Dallas was burnt in effigy, as the journal alluded to in the commencement of my letter so triumphantly avers, is no more a disparagement to him than was Galileo's suf-

fering in the cause of truth to him, or the fiery ordeal in their proper persons to many a reformer who was in advance of his age ; but should your contemporary be again beguiled into descanting upon " uncompromising integrity," when its existence in the individual whose exaltation turns upon another's abasement is all a matter of guesswork with him—or, should he another time rejoice his readers with a " counterfeit presentment " of American statesmen,—I would advise him, before renewing his instruction of others, diligently to seek out a teacher for himself.

Paris, Dec. 12, 1846.

ARTICLE XI.

Whenever an American President's message to Congress arrives in Europe, a hue and cry against the length of it is invariably raised by a set of carpers, which would lead one, unaccustomed to the false notes of their sweet voices, to suppose that there existed a dire necessity for each one of them to read the offending document from beginning to end. I have heard too, in like manner, some dainty dames, whose appetites were delicate and patience slender, indulge in affected lamentations at the many courses of a ceremonious dinner, from which they might have staid away without loss to any one except themselves. But these highly sensitive, not to say pharisaical, scribes ought to know that the Chief Magistrate of the United States is not paid \$ 25,000 a year merely *to occupy a palace and clothe himself in purple and fine linen*

every day. They should be informed that he is not only a working man among working men, and as such expected to administer his stewardship, and give an account of it too, but that if he were to venture to intrude upon his constituents such an insult to their understandings as would be a composition akin to what is here called a "King's speech," he might with reason calculate on being hooted from the capital to his home by the very boys in the street.

The gentleman who at present fills the first office in America has lately published, for the instruction of his countrymen, and doubtless to the edification of others who will not acknowledge it, an explanation of the Mexican war and its causes ; and though from my knowledge of his personal character I believe him to be incapable of wilful misrepresentation, still I am constrained to declare that, according to my humble notions, he has completely failed to prove the necessity of it. The whole affair, therefore, I regard not only as an iniquity, but a blunder. The war was unnecessary, for a while at least, because whenever two antagonists, one of whom is rich and the other poor, commence negotiations, nothing but glaring injustice or peevish impatience can prevent a peaceful issue. It might have been avoided too when troops were sent into the disputed territory, had a sufficient number been ordered there—volunteers, if regulars were not to be had—which would have saved the deluded Mexicans from their first fatal essay in arms. But I speak now as a Christian man, an abhorrer of strife, and a lover of peace. If, however, it be allowed me to declare my conviction as an American, unbiassed by those religious considerations which should weigh as heavily with nations as with individuals, I would fearlessly assert that for the last two hundred years not a single war has been waged in Europe with

a juster cause of quarrel than that in which my countrymen are at this moment engaged.

Let no one on this side of the Atlantic dare to "cast the first stone" at us. The Russian should rather call on the mountains of the Caucasus to cover his own shame: The Frenchman must begin by rendering an account to God and history, of the mass of life and means of sustenance that have been turned into worse than a dead loss in avenging a thoughtless rap of a fan: And you yourselves confess, "that to govern in India you must conquer, and that to prevail you must continue to advance." You did not hesitate an instant to declare war against Spain when the ears of an obscure Englishman were cut from his head in that country: Within a child's memory France has been murdering on a wholesale scale in the Pacific because a poor half-savage Queen saw fit to wave a flag whose colors did not suit its fancy: And shall we, "the great and kindred nation treading in your steps," whose force, like yours in the East, must ever be preëminently a moral force—shall we listen unmoved to the cries of our countrymen rotting in Mexican gaols, and of their bereaved and beggared families imploring redress?

Paris, Jan. 6, 1847.

ARTICLE XII.

Owing to accident I did not see *The Times* of the 5th inst., which contained "A. G.'s" letter upon "the delinquent states of America," till more than 24 hours after its reception in Paris, or I would have taken an earlier notice of it. Not *that its writer*, when he thought "it would meet the eye of

some honest American," had the least right to expect any answer to a communication so querulously and rudely shaped ; but that I am desirous of suggesting to him, and others who have been wronged, and deeply wronged too, the unprofitableness of trying to right themselves by means of abusive language indiscriminately employed. Even the stupid fellow who put his head in the lion's mouth had the good sense to remain quiet till he could withdraw it in safety ; and the simplest of American backwoodsmen never yet ventured to " raise a cry till he was well out of the wood."

We are told on the highest authority, " Not to answer a fool according to his folly, lest we also be like unto him." But as in the following verse we are allowed to " Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit," I trust your correspondent will not take it amiss if I prove by his own words, and others not less worthy, that the term " collective roguery," when applied, as it is by him, to the people of the United States, is as indiscreet on his part as it is unfavorable to " the profound respect entertained for your paper in America," to which " an author of great talent and accuracy " bears such undeniable testimony.

" A. G." confines himself, at least nominally, to four of the delinquent states, which must therefore be considered as pre-eminently criminal in his opinion ; and, as he had his choice among them all, it cannot be expected that I, who would avoid prolixity, should travel out of the record in search of others to refute him, if reference to these alone will answer my purpose. In the first instance cited by him the whole country is condemned, because in receiving Florida into the Union its debts were not adopted at the same time. But there was no more reason for doing this than there was for assuming the responsibility of all the obligations of every defaulting state. It is true that Florida had been a national

territory, and as such had borrowed money on bonds, but the faith of the "States" was never pledged for the validity of these bonds, nor ever understood to be so by the lenders themselves. And every one who took the pains to inquire might have ascertained that all responsibility with respect to them ended where it began—that is, in the territory itself, unless the approbation and registry of them by Congress had been first secured. Add to this, that the debt of Florida as a state is of more value than the debt of Florida as a territory, and the charge of "collective roguery" against the whole nation falls, in this case, to the ground.

Pennsylvania is next subjected to the ordeal of your correspondent's censure. Having premised that a large portion of the inhabitants of that state are Germans, who could with difficulty be induced to submit to direct taxation, and that four-fifths of the rest of the population were always ready to do their duty, I will, for the moment, content myself with quoting the words of another correspondent, "©," in your number of the 2d inst., whose correct information goes hand in hand with "even-handed justice." He says with regard to the state under consideration, that "what she has done has proved that she is earnestly endeavoring to pay, and each successive year shows an improvement in her position, such as to give a rational ground for believing that she will fully restore her credit in a short time."

Of Maryland, which is the third defaulter on whom "A. G." in just but ill-directed wrath descends, he himself declares, that "she has paid part of her arrears in specie, and has not, at present, attempted to fund the remainder at a rate of interest inferior to that paid on her original debt." And of Illinois, the fourth on the black list, he adds, that she "will be honest when her means permit her."

What, then, becomes of the charge of "collective roguery?" And if the individual states be pronounced guiltless of fraudulent intent, how can the United States be condemned?

It ought to be made known that, while no efforts are wanting to redeem state honor, the warmest and most general sympathy is felt for foreign creditors by all "American gentlemen of private worth and public honesty," who "A. G.," in unpardonable ignorance, or most excusable ferocity, says are "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*." And he should have blushed at the miserable sarcasm flung at American ancestry, when even his schoolboy reading must have taught him that "the convicted and fugitive outcasts of the Old World" were honored martyrs to religious and political opinions.

To show that I do not speak at random when I talk of "efforts and sympathy," I will briefly mention, that in Mississippi, the frailest of the fallen sisterhood, numbers of the best and richest citizens have offered to subscribe their respective shares towards paying off all debts, repudiated and not repudiated, principal and interest; and that in Massachusetts, owners of state stocks have voluntarily agreed to defer their own claims till creditors in other lands have received their due.

In extenuation, but not in justification, of the greediness and improvidence with which many of the states contracted loans beyond their present means of repayment, I would remark that their overweening and disastrous self-confidence grew out of the eagerness that foreigners showed to lend them money, and the facility with which two not inconsiderable debts had been paid off by the general government since its short existence. But do not understand me as defending, much less advocating, repudiation in one state, or the pitiful approximation to it in another. Shame, unmitigated shame; belongs to them both. It is their rightful portion, and should

rest, like the brand of thrice-heated iron, upon their brows, but on theirs alone, until self-purgation has entitled them to assume their former high position, from which, alas ! a contaminating relationship has dragged down the innocent in a disgraceful descent.

Paris, Jan. 10, 1847.

ARTICLE XIII.

You will regard it, perhaps, as very supererogatory on the part of one who is neither of French or English birth, to express an opinion upon the relations subsisting between two leading nations of Europe—its self-constituted high constables and the would-be supervisors of the American continent. You may so regard it, because of the apparent uselessness of adding a single touch to the comprehensive and masterly-drawn views so often furnished forth by you of late, to the delight and instruction of your many readers. But, as the judge on his bench does not disdain the testimony of an eyewitness to a transaction submitted to his decision, provided no dishonesty is suspected, however humble be the intellect of the speaker, so you may possibly not turn a deaf ear to the result of my experience during a long residence in France, as there can be no motive on my part for deception.

Far be it from me, even if it were within my puny means, to plant or water the smallest seed of discontent among individuals, and infinitely further from me be the will, as is the power, to set communities at strife. From such audacious ini-

quity I should shrink as I would from the responsibility (enormous as it must be in God's sight) of the gratuitous slaughter in war's unholy name which is now going on in different parts of the globe, whatever be the flag under which it is perpetrated. But, just as I would avoid evil doing, and, on the contrary, would help to establish, as far as in me lies, a good understanding wherever practicable, sparing no pains to maintain it when once confirmed, so I should hold myself deeply criminal if, perceiving at any time in the very foundation of such understanding a principle fatal to its duration, I were wilfully to keep silence.

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, a few days since, said, "Policy is founded on the sentiments, the instincts, and the wants of the soul ; and the mechanical system, that relations between nations result from material influences, is false and to be deprecated." But what, I should like to know, is to be done when no such community of sentiments, or instincts, or wants of the soul can be found ? when there is nothing to appeal to except material interests, and influences ? What better can be done than to avail one's self of these despised interests and influences, whereon to construct an unaffected good fellowship at the least ? It was because more than this was attempted that the late *entente cordiale* between England and France broke down. Too much was expected from it on the strength of a supposititious sentiment. An exotic, the product of a factitious soil, was deemed capable of sustaining the rough breezes which none but a plant of natural growth can withstand, and the consequence was that a breath even from the *south* destroyed it.

As I have before said, France is not a strange country in my eyes, nor are its parties unknown to me for lack of representatives of them among my acquaintances. I can hardly, therefore, be accused of superficiality when I remark, that

there is nothing here but material influences on which the English can rely as a permanent base of friendly relations. I have taxed my memory severely, and I speak the truth when I declare, that never was uttered within my hearing by a Frenchman a single sentence which indicated favor or affection towards your countrymen in the mass. What mockery is it, then, to talk about what has no reality !—about “instincts and wants of the soul !” especially when it is remembered that there are other all-sufficient influences, ever operating on both sides of the Channel, to keep the two rival nations on neighborly terms,—the only terms that promise any lasting security ! A proper apprehension of the great common cause in which, as representatives of constitutional rights, they are engaged in eternal opposition to absolutism, is a better bond of union between them than the most cunningly-devised fable respecting instinctive and sentimental wants ; and the recollection, that rogues are never so happy as when honest men fall out, should save them from stultifying themselves a second time by giving to Russia another opportunity of plucking with impunity, amid their dissensions, the long-coveted fruit which she dared not otherwise touch.

But, after all, what interests or influences, material or sentimental, has England in common with this country worthy to stand alongside of those which exist, and must for ever exist, between her and her Transatlantic kinsmen ? Cover every acre of France with the salt sea to-morrow, and England would be no worse off the day after than she is now. Not one of her myriads of wheels would be stopped, not a workman would cease from his labor, and not a mouth the less would be filled. But let that country, whose productions supply her factories with materials wherewith to employ and clothe her people, and help to keep starvation at bay, be washed *into nothingness* by some mighty convulsion of nature, and

she might with good reason fold her arms in dismay and become a "waiter upon Providence."

There is no sympathy between Englishmen and Frenchmen. Your blunt bearing is taken by them for rudeness, just as their solicitude to please is mistaken by you for hypocrisy. Your plain speaking argues in their opinion an indifference to the feelings of others, while their anxiety to avoid giving offence convicts them in your esteem of insincerity. Even to language the same importance is not attached by you and them ; and a slight infraction of truth is not so severely judged here as in England. But this arises from an habitual looseness of expression, and a lighter reverence for truth itself, perhaps, rather than from a spirit of mendacity. By their own standard then, and not by yours, should they be acquitted or condemned. Still, the fact is incontrovertible, that there is no community of feeling between you, and that in France an Englishman is looked upon as an alien in every sense of the word, and treated as such, except so far as the influence of money acts upon his condition. He is *in* society without being of it. His table is filled if it be well covered, and his saloons are crowded if the eye, the ear, and the mouth have been luxuriously catered for. But look at his fireside, and there you will see neither friends nor intimate associates, save those of his own race. His wines are drunken, his good things are eaten, and his guests go heedlessly away, in perfect indifference, barring what is yet to be got out of him, whether their host shall be found the next week on his way to *Père la Chaise*, to the *Rue de Clichy*, or to Australasia.

In contrast with all this, now let me ask, what is an Englishman's reception in the United States, when proper credentials are not wanting ? I was upon the point of asking what it *was* before the slander-market of London had created a supply equal to the demand ? But, notwithstanding all that

nas come and gone, I will still inquire what it is even now ? And I fear not contradiction from any of your countrymen who have crossed the Atlantic, when, without waiting for a reply, I say that it is such as the native of no other land than that of our fathers will meet with, even though he present himself under the most favorable auspices, for the simple reason that it is dictated by "sentiments of the soul," with which "material influences" have very little to do.

Paris, Feb. 8, 1847.

ARTICLE XIV.

Everybody knows there is Quixotism in politics as well as in religion, and though I am not aware that the one or the other belongs peculiarly to your countrymen, yet my observation has led me to believe that when an individual of the island race is fully possessed of the spirit of either, not red-hot iron is more disagreeable to handle, nor the cold metal itself more difficult to bend; and this M. Guizot may find out to his cost, when experience teaches him that the stiffness of the Puritan and the wiliness of the Jesuit united are by no means an equal match for it.

If, as is proverbially said, truth lies at the bottom of a well, the well where she has taken refuge at the present moment must be profoundly deep; for, notwithstanding she has been assiduously sought for on both sides of the Channel to clear up the mystery which envelopes the much fretted question of the Spanish marriages, she has hitherto so *effectually eluded* pursuit that, beyond the simple fact of two

princes having espoused two princesses in spite of England's remonstrances, every thing is as problematical as the French King's good faith, his Prime Minister's political honesty, or the Spanish Queen-mother's purity.

Fortunately the quarrel, which is like to prove a very pretty one, belongs as yet exclusively to the Governments of the two countries, while the English and French people care no more about it, or the cause of it, than they do about the rupture of the peace of Amiens, or the fate of last year's snow. But Lord Palmerston very naturally feels sore at having been overreached, and the more so, because bent as he is on recovering from his bad reputation of being the first fire-eater in Europe, his hands, it may be, are to a certain extent tied. Nevertheless, as no one need be told, neither he nor his subordinates at Paris and Madrid have been slow or undecided in announcing by word and deed his thorough disapprobation and condemnation of the course pursued by his adversaries. It is asserted, and as I believe truly, since no denial on worthy authority has ever been made to it, that an understanding was entered into, while the monarchs of France and England were holding high holiday at the Chateau d'Eu—an understanding more binding from its very nature than any written compact among gentlemen could be—to the effect that, provided the British Ministry refrained from urging the Coburg claim at Madrid, the French, on their side, would not press the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier till a certain time had elapsed, or a certain event taken place, subsequent to the espousals of the Spanish Queen; that in the face of such agreement not only was the offensive act complained of done, but done cunningly and clandestinely; and that now a perfect right exists in the wronged party to exact an indemnity against the mischievous consequences which may grow out of such *faithless* proceedings.

But the French King, having secured a princess and a princely dowry for his son, turns a deaf ear to all this ; though I cannot help thinking he sometimes regrets what has been done, or, at least, the manner of doing it; since, if my information be as correct as from its source it ought to be, he is far from being tranquil at heart for its possible results. And with good reason too, for the English being by tradition a people fond of "a word and a blow," giving precedence often to the blow over the word, he cannot but be apprehensive lest he receive an unwelcome remembrancer of his sins of omission and commission, without even the prophetic words—"Thou art the man!"—once thundered in a Royal ear, to put him on his guard.

And yet it seems that the Dowager Queen Christina was the sole immediate exciter of so much bitter blood, for the English and French Governments, it would appear, were of accord on most points involved in the marriageable condition of the Spanish Queen and her sister, when their mother, taking fright, perhaps, at certain ultra-liberal demonstrations connected with the popularity of the unmanageable Don Henrique, instructed her agent in London to acquaint the English Ministers with her willingness to give her eldest daughter to a Coburg Prince if they would further such a scheme by their instant support; for, as she told them, it was her fixed determination to marry her to some one without delay. It has been suggested that she did this in order to entrap them into a false step, which would have released Louis Philippe from his promise, and allowed him and her to do what they had long since agreed upon ; but better informed persons believe that she was playing her own game, independently of her French ally, under the mistaken notion that others were as void of honesty as herself. For her sole and selfish fear was *lest, a son-in-law* being given to her capable of appreciating

her at her just value, he should unite himself with the true friends of Spain and its liberal institutions, and she be thrust out of the kingdom a second time, to be henceforth a wanderer from the scenes of her former grandeur and her base intrigues.

Lord Palmerston's answer was quick and resolute,—“England's honor could not be violated even to advance the family interests of England's Queen.” Post haste was this message carried to Madrid, and hardly was it delivered before another in still hotter haste was despatched to Paris, which astounded the Spanish Minister, took even Louis Philippe by surprise, and awoke M. Guizot from a state of complete ignorance as to the advanced stage of the negotiation. But the astonishment of the first and the ignorance of the last were of little import to the Royal juggler, who, on receiving the Queenly missive, after a moment's reflection exclaimed, “Be it so !” He hesitated ; not that he disapproved of the proposition it contained, but that he doubted if it were the fitting hour for carrying it into execution ; and the amount of this proposition, which we now know, was, that the writer, having resolved at every cost to put an end to an uncertainty which might terminate in her banishment, and chosen a suitable husband for her eldest child, would give to Louis Philippe, if he took part in such arrangement and broke troth with the English, a Royal dowry, and almost a Royal bride, for his son. Whereupon, the temptation proving too strong to be withstood by a man whose heart has been for years a stranger to every feeling but a passion for accumulating riches and an anxiety to perpetuate his dynasty, the regal sanction required was hurried off by a return courier, and things have come to the pass where we now find them.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1846.

ARTICLE XVI.

As a stranger I have no claims upon you ; as a foreigner, and that foreigner an American, still less ; yet, in the possibility of meeting with indulgence at your hands, I venture, through the only journal that cannot escape his notice, to address the enclosed note to Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. P., &c.

My Lord,—You are, or are supposed to be, a statesman, a christian, and a gentleman. If it were otherwise I would not take the liberty or the trouble of referring to a speech made by you in the House of Commons on the 6th of July last. But, believing that the world renders to your character no more than its due, I would fain ask, if it was not your bounden duty, on that occasion, when you so unnecessarily dragged into debate the concerns of a third nation, thoroughly to acquaint yourself with the affairs about which you discoursed, that you might not, through sheer ignorance, transgress the laws of peace, prudence, and courtesy ?

In reply to Lord George Bentinck's motion respecting Spanish bonds, you saw fit most gratuitously to arraign the United States of America, and to threaten them, at least by implication, with the strong hand of coercion, unless, forsooth, certain defaulting members among them "wiped away from their history that blot which according to you must be considered as a serious stain upon their national character."

I am unwilling to insult your intelligence by presuming you to be ignorant of the fact that the Government at Washington never participated in state debts, by consequence never incurred any responsibility, and, therefore, can in no way be

held accountable for a single dollar of them. But wherein the General Government neither could nor would act, individual governments have not been heedless or inactive. Premising that two-thirds of the United States, containing more than four-fifths of the entire population, either never contracted a debt, or never committed a default, it should be known that all the rest have resumed payment, or are upon the point of doing so, with a few exceptions, one alone of which has ever repudiated any portion of its bonds. Nor is Mississippi, the repudiator, wholly without the show of justice on her side ; for she has offered, through her constitutional organ, the Legislature, to waive all objection to jurisdiction, and to abide the issue of a trial at law. What can be fairer than this proposition, which her creditors should immediately avail themselves of, to carry into the Supreme Court of the United States a single case that would be decisive of all others, and at a very trifling expense ?

While obscure and isolated sufferers gave vent to their just but ill-directed indignation, silence, it may be, best became the calumniated ; but when a gentleman in your high station enunciates sentiments like yours, it is well to inquire whether higher, nobler, and more philanthropic ground could not have been taken by him ; and whether God and all good men would not have more approved you, had you been guiltless of bravado, and not forgotten those great common bonds of interest (blood and religion) which should forever "grapple with hooks of steel" the hearts of Englishmen to the hearts of Americans ?

Were European communities composed of "people of the ballot-box," as those of the "model republic" are truly, but in tasteless mockery, described by you to be, every body knows that their public debts would not be worth a day's purchase. What wisdom was there, then, in flouting a nation

which, by the ballot-box itself, and universal suffrage too, has incontrovertibly demonstrated a saving popular virtue to exist within its limits that is to be found nowhere else ? You yourself, I doubt not, regretted as soon as it was spoken the speech that fell from your lips ; for, even without the excuse of occasion, it breathed the spirit of war—unnecessary war, that concentration of all crime, and its burden was menace—empty menace, disparaging to your reputation as a statesman and a man.

Menace, my Lord, is unworthy the mouth of an Englishman, or the ears of his countrymen ; and still less is it an argument fit to address to the Transatlantic descendants of Englishmen. What ! England make war on America because a few poverty-stricken states cannot for the moment pay the interest on their bonds ? I would not be guilty of disrespect towards you, but surely it was not in earnest that you gave countenance to such an impossible extravagance. Or, if it was, let me entreat you to forbear in future from such untoward earnestness, unless you are perfectly disregarding of the rights both of foreign and domestic state creditors ; for, though “ Paul may plant and Appollos water,” God alone (not to speak it profanely) can give an increased value to depreciated stocks in this country, if they who are responsible for their payment are to be dragooned into doing what is right by English dictation and denunciation.

Boston, U. S. A., Aug. 16, 1847.

ARTICLE XVII.

As the remarks which it pleased you to make upon my letter of August 16th were not published till after the steamer's departure from Liverpool on the 4th of September, they necessarily could not reach me before the arrival here of the next mail—that of the 19th of the same month—and consequently the present is the first regular opportunity I have had of returning an answer, which, brief as I shall try to make it, will not, I trust, be refused the enviable privilege of appearing in the columns of the *Times*.

If you have any recollection of my communications, so flatteringly received at your office until now, you will do me the justice to acknowledge that in none of them have I ever favored either the principle or the practice of repudiation; but, on the contrary, have unreservedly condemned them, though at times repeating the excuses made by repudiators themselves, but never adopting their sentiments, while I stated, what is the opinion of most intelligent and honest persons in the States, that through legitimate means, judiciously used, this land will eventually be cleansed, and at no distant day, from the stains both of bankruptcy and repudiation, without being "put to its purgation" by the threat of foreign interference.

To accomplish so desirable an end—an end devoutly to be wished for by every American who has a heart to feel for his country's honor, or to sympathize with the victims of State delinquency—I have added my feeble influence to that of many other men far more powerful than myself; and you, Sir, need not be informed that the work has prospered, since you ad-

mit, that "a portion of those (States) which had stopped payment have begun to pay dividends anew,"—thanks (you might have continued) to those much-despised ballot-boxes, which, in anti-republican fervor, you would fain "cast into the Mississippi amongst the snags and sawyers." Yet with such a fact as this,—the resumption of payment by mere force of popular suffrage—and that, too, in more than one instance—staring you in the face, and with "no wish to rip up old sores," as you say, you have, to my regret and astonishment, in your article of September 6th, run directly counter to your own declared purpose.

In my letter of March 18th, 1846, I remarked, that "to no part of the people of this country were the common rudiments of education strange;" and, arguing upon this undisputed truth, as well as upon the good degree of intelligence pervading the community, I thought it a fair conclusion, and it is one which, according to your own confession, results have not falsified thus far, that the worldly wisdom and practical virtue of my countrymen would not permit a continuation of non-payment of debts any longer than stern necessity required it. I claimed for them a superiority over the common people of England, large portions of whom, for lack of moral and intellectual culture, are known by every traveller in the two countries to be below the lowest standard of humanity in America, and masses of whom your own reports of Parliament describe to be so grossly ignorant that the names of Jesus Christ and Pontius Pilate are confounded together in their thoughts, while the existence of a God is hardly entertained by them as a possibility in which they have any concern.* But I never was presumptuous enough to pronounce them so enamoured of justice in the abstract that they would immolate

* Laborers in the Mining Districts are here alluded to.

themselves upon its altar though the heavens were about to fall. I thought them in the main more than "indifferent honest," but I never imputed to them that sublime virtue which is made more virtuous by kicks and buffets. It was therefore that I entreated you not to "o'er-leap your custom of choice terms," lest you should defeat your own intent ; and it was therefore that I said, and said advisedly, that though Paul may plant and Apollos water, if you persist in dragging and denouncing your debtors, you will do more harm than good—you will tear down faster than the best of us can repair the shattered fabric of state-credit. But because in all truth and friendliness I gave you this warning, sincerely pitying the victims of American bankruptcy, and feeling no less shame for imprudent defaulters on one side of me, than disgust for reckless repudiators on the other ; and because I advised the creditors of Mississippi how, at the expense of a few dollars, they might knock the paltry prop of law from beneath her in a court of equity at Washington, (which, by the way, could not be attempted without her legislative sanction,) my "pleading is disgraceful" in your eyes—"more disgraceful than the knavery of my client." But, thank Heaven, as there was an appeal from Alexander drunk to Alexander sober, so is there, I hope, one also from the Editor of the *Times* misconceiving my words, to the Editor of the *Times* convinced of his error.

Whatever may be the authority on which you declare, that in the United States "public opinion is busy to palliate, to excuse, to applaud, and not to censure and condemn acts, for which in Europe a bankrupt would be refused his certificate," it is utterly worthless. Upon no spot on earth is public opinion more powerful for good than it is here. If it works slowly, it works surely, as is proved by the solvency of several bankrupt States, of which you formerly despaired. But

recollect that Rome was not built in a day. And when you, impatient at the little visible progress made, not only withhold due credit from those who have redeemed the error of their ways, but unscrupulously term "non-rascality" the admitted honesty of four fifths of a mighty population, putting it, more wittily than wisely, "upon a par with not forging a check, or not embezzling an employer's money," you tempt me to inquire, whether you think that in so doing you render more honorable the high mission to which you are called, as the foremost journalist in the world, whose responsibility at the present critical moment is such as should make a conscientious man tremble.

You believe that "the American name will not recover for half a century the slur that has been cast upon it." It is a long time, fifty years, for the convalescence of a nation in its first youth, having all Europe before it for a guide and warning. But long as is the term which your imagination fixes upon, and accurate as is your judgment in general, I doubt not that you and I will yet survive to witness the fallacy of your prophecy. Not fifty years were necessary, but less than fifty months sufficed the Bank of England to recover from the slur of its legalized bankruptcy, though it had wanted in its depreciated rags for nearly the fourth of a century; and as for your Northern Capital, though its honesty, or, "non-rascality," as you have christened the thing, is long past praying for, we never hear of your "having an uneasy feeling in your breeches pockets whenever 'a sandy-haired Scotchman' passes you in the streets."

From my "exquisite probity and reasoning" you draw these three "conclusions," which, barring all offence, are "most lame and impotent;"—"first, that the repudiating States (State?), and those who countenance their repudiation" (a countenance more strange than true), "upon the

showing of their advocates" (I know not such), "are doing what is dishonest and wrong" (never by me gainsaid), "with the most perfect knowledge of the fact" (which I deny as inference from my words, seeing that I spoke of *right* as I, not they, regarded it); "secondly, that there must be a special interposition, a miracle worked, before such words as good-faith and fair-dealing are admitted into the vocabulary of the Union" (even had the Union, instead of a remote fraction of it, been the subject-matter of my comment, still I could not rightly be held accountable for misconstruction like this); and, "thirdly, that the attributes of Providence are absolutely limited in the case of the American debtor, should his dormant tendency to non-payment be roused into vitality by the most distant hint from his creditor : " Not "distant hints," but direct threats, and that too from the English Foreign Secretary, were the provocation to the criticism which has been so highly honored by you.

I cannot accept, sir, the distinction of being ranked among "American statesmen," so gibingly conferred upon me; but while helping, within my limited sphere, to smooth down the asperities which have occasionally risen between your country and mine, it seemed to me, native-born as I am to the States, a not unsuitable signature to assume that of

Yours most respectfully,

A "STATES"-MAN.

Boston, U. S. A., Oct. 16th, 1847.



ARTICLES
FROM THE
"New York Courier and Enquirer."

ARTICLE I.

[*Note by the Editor of the Courier and Enquirer.*—We take great pleasure in laying before our readers the following letter from an American resident in Paris, who has heretofore done his country very essential service by able, well timed and effective replies, through the *London Times*, to the virulent denunciations of the British Press. We would very gladly enable our readers, by identifying him still more distinctly, to appreciate his letters the more, but for the fear that in so doing we might infringe upon the delicacy which has induced him to withhold his name.]

As the present is an interesting moment to all who are concerned in the affairs of Europe, it may be that your numerous readers would like to receive, from one on this side of the water, an account of the impressions made upon his mind by certain events, which have lately taken the lead of all others in attracting public attention. I allude of course to the "Spanish marriages," as they are called, and I make use of the unpretending word *impressions*, because the whole affair is so thickly clothed with well devised and authentic statements and counter-statements, in form and substance perfectly incompatible with each other, that any thing like a precise knowledge of facts in the case, defying contradiction, it would be equally foolhardy and absurd to assume. As it appears to

me then that you may possibly welcome my letter, not for any merit in its execution, but for the rarity of its matter, just as you might a description of a bull-fight, or any other buffoonry, I make bold to intrude it upon you, if by chance a vacant corner in your journal can be found for its insertion.

According to an act of renunciation passed in 1712 by the Duke of Orleans for himself and descendants, and the declaration of Philip 5th of Spain made in the same year; according to a treaty between Austria and Spain signed in 1725; and in accordance with the Spanish Constitution adopted in 1845, wherein reference is made to the treaty of Utrecht, it seems, or at least we are told, that not only was provision made against the crowns of France and Spain falling upon the same head, but also against the latter of these baubles ever resting upon the brow of any son of Orleans. That this was and continues to be the general interpretation of the instruments above cited, is evident from the angry remonstrances lately made on all sides to the French King's marriage of his son to the Infanta of Spain; and that it *was* the interpretation hitherto apprehended, if not actually put upon them, by Louis Philippe himself, is likewise evident from the secrecy and precipitancy with which his matrimonial schemes have been conducted. The marriages of the Spanish Queen to her cousin, and of her sister to the Duke of Montpensier, are now what are here described as *facts accomplished*, and that which preceded them, whether infamous or outrageous in regard to the person of the youthful sovereign, as the *London Times* asserts, or tricky and fraudulent in regard to every other step in the proceedings, as all the world believes, will furnish materials for history, if history be so fortunate as ever to lay her hands upon the facts. The *Times*, and I need not tell you it is by far the best *published* authority in Europe, without entering upon details, more than intimates that most unmanly

violence, and at the defenceless hour of midnight, was exercised towards the occupant of the Spanish throne ; in which, from enquiries made in different quarters likely to be well informed, I am inclined to think it is *not* mistaken. What this violence was, will perhaps never be known more accurately than it is now, but that a dissolute mother, whose life has been a libel on her sex, and a crafty kinsman, whose age and experience should have taught him better things, conspired to bring about a consummation eagerly coveted by both, through means not unlike those which Let's daughters employed, is openly proclaimed and not discredited.

Still further beyond doubt is it that Mr. Guizot and his iron-willed but fair-of-speech master, have overreached and outwitted the English cabinet, have played falsely, and by slight of hand and *an odd trick*, have won the game. But let them both look to it, for if Lord Palmerston and his compeers be judged aright, when it is least expected, another Syrian stab will let out the superfluous humors of this fast-and-loose couple, or another Tahiti *coup de main* will draggle them through the mud again.

But to present the facts of the case according to their supposed truth : Louis Philippe and his first minister, or rather head clerk, for the King here can say with quite as much reason as did ever Louis 14th, "I am the government," entered with the English Ministry into an agreement respecting the Spanish marriages, which they have since seen fit to violate. It is true, they assert the contrary, but as yet, their words are not believed ; for instead of denying the compact, they have recourse to excuses, and instead of justifying their own conduct, they vainly attempt to criminate that of others. England is charged by them with having actively favored a Coburg Prince, contrary to pledged word, thereby liberating France from her engagements ; and when a home-thrust, ir

the shape of a protest, was made by the English Minister, the French King's reply, as I had it from one of the diplomatic corps, neither an Englishman nor an American, amounted almost word for word, to this : "that he had a perfect right to marry his son to any princess in Europe, and by consequence to a Spanish one ; but that if a question ever arose as to the right of the Duke of Montpensier's children to the Spanish throne, he should stand by, an idle spectator, leaving it to be decided wholly by the Spanish people themselves,"—all of which is nothing but "words, words, words."

The upshot of the matter is, that the French King, though he loved the English alliance much, loved Spanish gold more ; and having found he could go without English crutches, he flattered himself that English support could be altogether dispensed with. But I for one believe him to be mistaken in this. Hitherto he has been able to marry his children only to petty German or foreign princes and princesses, poorer, with one exception, in every thing, save blood, than most private gentlemen possessed of what is usually considered a fortune ; and he was too happy to ally himself with one of the great houses of Europe, not to mention that the dazzling dowry in view—the unrighteous fruits of plunder—was to him, whose darling vice is what Byron calls the "good, old gentlemanly one," a temptation stronger than *his* flesh and blood could withstand.

And what is to come of all this ? Very like before you again hear from Europe, a civil war or something as bad may be again raging in Spain, and that beautiful but degraded country may become once more the battle field for those, who always were and always will be antagonists, notwithstanding the incessant billing and cooing that have been going on of late years. If they do not come to actual blows themselves, they will strike not the less fiercely with the arms of others.

At all events the *entente cordiale* is ended, and all sincere men must be glad to see that heart-sickening and hypocritical farce over. It was never a feeling more than skin-deep, and always reminded me of a ferocious tiger whipped into good behavior, and a surly mastiff coaxed into decency; because it is no secret that an Englishman despises a Frenchman, just in proportion as he is hated in return.

Now all this should be no subject of mourning to us Americans, for the more snarling and growling there is, the less disposed will either side be to impertinent meddling in our affairs, and for the future there need be no fear that any party will be anxious to put its hand between the wood and bark, as was attempted to be done during our negotiations for Texas.

Paris, Oct. 17, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

It appears to me that the more honest a man is, the more likely is he to be taken in by a designing knave—that is, the first time, but not the second, unless to his honesty be united a most inordinate share of silliness. Now the English, as every body knows, have lately been shamelessly duped by the French King at Madrid,—so shamelessly indeed, that the sense of humiliation was lost sight of for the moment in their anger at having been overreached. And yet no one, whose opinion is of value, thinks the less worthily of them on that account. But if, after such mortifying experience, they be deluded again by that mockery, called an *entente cordiale*, into

once more embarking their fortunes in the same boat with the Royal *Escamoteur*, what but their own simplicity will they have to thank for every consequence, however disastrous, should they spring a leak, which his keen wit alone foresaw, perhaps contrived, and solely provided against ? Still, incredible as you may think it, such a result is not at all impossible, if we are to judge from the dulcet notes which are now daily exchanged across the Channel.

At first the English Press could find no abuse sharp enough to inflict upon the perpetrators of the Spanish fraud. Neither Louis Philippe, nor his Ministry, nor his Ambassador, the immediate agent in the transaction, escaped the execrations which, it was evident, some, if not all of them, deserved. Upon the Unanointed himself, for as you are aware, the French King has never ventured upon a coronation, the English Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was heard by one of my friends to bestow an epithet peculiar to our vernacular, richly merited, but rather too strong for repetition in a public journal. The British Queen, filled with grief at a slight cast upon the pretensions of her kinsman of Coburg blood, and with indignation as at a personal affront, like Rachel, "refused to be comforted," and, as I have heard within an hour from a gentleman just returned to Paris from the Royal presence, still "cries aloud and spares not." In a word, one universal shout of reprobation was wafted from Dover to Calais, to be clamorously echoed and responded to here, when all at once the fate of Cracow, in very natural sequence to the folly at Madrid, was sounded in the ears of Europe, and the scene changed. France and England, seeing at a glance that the very first moment of dissension between them had been seized upon by a power equally watchful and unscrupulous, as an occasion long desired for annihilating the last remnant of Polish independence, hastened to lower the high tone hitherto as-

sumed towards each other, and to put on at least a show of decency and moderation. But in so doing, more than one of the principal organs of public opinion did not hesitate to declare their conviction, that Louis Philippe not only well knew for months what were the intentions of the Northern Powers, but acquiesced in them for the purpose of advancing his own family interests, and of securing to himself a quiet life. And they might have added, what, if you publish this letter, will now for the first time be made known, that not only for months, but for years, has he been accessory to an enormous crime against the rights of man. For as long ago as 1833 a secret treaty was entered into by Russia, Prussia and Austria to the effect, that "on a concurrence of certain circumstances," Cracow, in spite of the most solemn compacts, should be devoted to political destruction. And this concurrence of circumstances depended, as we have since seen, only on a fitting occasion offering itself, after the oppressed had been goaded into rebellion; and after the worm had been trampled upon till even the worm turned upon its tormentors in the madness of despair. Do you ask how I know all this? It is by means of a gentleman once high in the confidence of the Russian Emperor, and now in Paris, as well as through another who himself was the digester of the infamous contract—a contract communicated directly to Louis Philippe, but by him dishonestly concealed from his ministry. For you must know that he is his own foreign secretary, and holds, most unconstitutionally, a correspondence, apart from the ministerial one, with his representatives at different courts. Do you wonder why his King-craftiness, which every coffee house frequenter talks of, is not brought home to him with overwhelming proofs? It is because he is too astute to leave any traces in his dark paths that can be sworn to; and because, greedy as he is of gold, he is lavishness itself whenever written docu-

ments, which might come to light in condemnation of him, are to be had for money.

Allow me to give you an instance of his extreme caution. In 1840, when the affairs of the East wore so portentous an aspect that an English gentleman of almost the highest diplomatic rank, on the authority of one of the French ministry, told me that "war was inevitable," although messages were incessantly exchanged between the King and his ambassador in London, not one of them was ever committed to paper, but every word was communicated verbally through the Count de Montherond.

Louis Philippe has been called by his parasites the Napoleon of peace ; and certainly, were it not for his paltry cunning, he might be justly styled the cleverest man in all Europe. But let him take heed lest, lacking art to conceal his artifice, like that great and bad ruler, he become his own destroyer. For here there are, as it were, two nations—*France superficielle* and *France réelle* ; and it is on the former, composed of office-holders, speculators, and overgrown bankers, that his popularity rests ; while from the latter, which comprises men of honor, of substance, and of true nobility, he has nothing to hope. And why should he look for any thing at their hands, when he cannot command their respect ? And how can he command their respect, or the respect of any one, capable as he has shown himself to be of every meanness, small and great, of hypocritically embracing at one time, with tears in his eyes, the members of a cabinet anxious to give up office, but before his preparations were ready, and then chuckling over the dexterous cheat, by which he had cajoled them into withdrawing their resignations ; and at another, of intriguing against a friendly government on the other side of the Atlantic, notwithstanding a voluntary and formal promise to remain neutral ! But if we are forced to

mourn over the degradation of powers such as fall to the lot of few men, and if we must grieve that the pages of history are to be devoted to a name like his, it is some consolation to reflect that one layer at least, which shall envelope it for immortality, will be furnished from the records of royal infamy, whereon the ink is hardly dry. And yet, perhaps, at the present moment he is a blessing to the civilized world, if not to France itself; for though he certainly does drag his country through the mire every now and then, still he is the advocate of peace, however unworthy be his motives, and peace he will have, cost what it may.

It is a matter of general and curious speculation, what attitude M. Guizot will assume at the approaching opening of the Chambers; whether he will stand boldly forth, by word and act to declare himself the champion of his fellow men and the contemner of tyrants; or, whether for the love of place and profit, he will, Saturn-like, devour his own offspring, and basely feed upon the words which his own lips have pronounced. Will he choose wisely? Many doubt it, for the defeated trickster in Texas, and he on whom all eyes fix themselves, are one and the same man. His position in regard to England is awkward, in relation to the Northern Powers dangerous, and in face of his own country pregnant with glory or with shame to his regal master and himself.

Paris, Dec. 7, 1846.

ARTICLE III.

It is hardly possible for a citizen of the "States" fully to appreciate the advantages, which attach themselves to him as an inhabitant of the New World among the denizens of the Old, till he has passed some time in foreign countries ; nor until he has dwelt among strangers in a strange land, can he properly estimate the blessings which belong to him in his own. If in manners and appearance he is unexceptionable, and if his letters of introduction have been written by persons that had a right to give them, and are addressed to those who can present him to the society, it matters not how distinguished, in which he desires to move, no obstacle opposes itself to the accomplishment of his wishes. And whether he be a manufacturer from New England, a merchant from New York, a lawyer from Pennsylvania, or a planter from a Southern or Western State, saloons, the most difficult of access to one who is native-born, are instantly thrown open to him, and even an approach to Royalty itself is rendered easy and agreeable. That this should happen upon the Continent is not so much to be wondered at, when every circumstance is taken into consideration ; but that in England, aristocratic England, where castes are as distinctly marked, and with reason too, as in many portions of the East, and where, for the most part, each man knows and keeps through life the place allotted to

him at his birth,—that in such a country a plain American gentleman, with suitable credentials and wherewithal to support them, can enter at once into the highest society and all its enjoyments, to which a mere London merchant, however rich and respectable, or a Wesminster practitioner, however eminent, would never dream of aspiring, seems to me a flattering privilege accorded to the untitled countrymen of Washington, which they should not, as is frequently the case, unduly estimate, or sadly misuse.

Not that I would have them think more meanly of themselves than they ought, (of which, by the by, there is little danger,) nor, that they should lower in their own persons by obsequiousness and sycophancy the unadorned dignity of every wellbred man, who is conscious of right ; but that they are bound to attribute to their country's form of government, which recognises no privilege of birth, and to its institutions, which respect the individual, rather than to any personal merit, most, if not all, of their success. I am a republican by birth and conviction ; I am too a lover of the people and one of them ; it is also my sure belief and daily prayer that a few years hence that insult to common sense, an absolute sovereignty, will be unknown in Europe ; nevertheless I would have mankind levelled up rather than down, even in the courtesies of life, and it grieves me to see imputed to democracy that frequent absence of modesty and regard to the rights of others which, through bravado or sheer obtrusiveness, characterizes some of our countrymen abroad.

Then, within the limits of that Land so dear to all of us, and not less dear to those who are temporary exiles from it, what blissful security is felt in place of that unquiet rest, which here attends what is called a general state of peace. Look, for example, now at the different nations of Europe, and observe the rotten condition they are in. See too, what men-

cing aspects they assume towards each other, notwithstanding treaties, both modern and time-worn, stare them in the face, and the dearest interests of humanity call upon them to forbear. England and France are in a worse position with regard to each other and the world, because of the broken *entente cordiale*, whose reality, except between the two governments, was only a farce. England, like one sick of the palsy, feels helpless Ireland hanging at her side, while that wretched country, equally incapable of self-regeneration, and, of receiving from others the principles of a new existence, returns upon its hereditary tormentor a portion of its many woes. An harvest of dragons' teeth is the daily retribution from a sister-isle to her, who, envied and therefore disliked throughout the continent, has not a single ally on whose fidelity she can rely. True, she claims Portugal as an ancient friend, and lately has lent her moral aid, if nothing more, to sustain in the person of its Sovereign, those very principles which she opposed when the outcast Don Miguel was their representative; but the friendship is all on one side. France, isolated by her hard-hearted and selfish King, struggles for supremacy in Spain with a high hand, but her hand, like every other raised in that unhappy region, lacks the power of doing or receiving good. Austria, a thing of shreds and patches, to be torn to pieces at the first general convulsion, cringing and tyrannizing by turns, is an object of hate to all and of love to none.

The rest of Germany, rumbling with discontent, is slowly but surely preparing for a fearful contest between popular right and royal might, which must take place, unless regal Justice, soon descending from her high perch, listen to the oppressed many, ere it be too late to ward off from the protected few their well deserved doom. Parts of Switzerland have long been at daggers' drawing with each other. All Italy is but an ill-assorted pack of cards, to be dealt at will by

the first bold adventurer, whose skill knows neither fear nor dread, whenever the war-cry of nations is raised. While Russia, the incubus of Europe, the feared and the loathed of all, lies like a beast of prey beyond the reach of the huntsman, prepared for every wile and for every violence.

It is really heart-sickening for one who loves his fellow-man to see creatures, formed after the image of their Maker, misgoverned and depressed by kings and ministers, by knaves and fools ; to hear the people's abasement pleaded as an excuse for sinking them still lower, by defrauding them of every chance of self elevation ; and to know that their rights are withheld under the pretext, that perchance the first exercise of them may be in the wrong direction. Why, in the country where I now am, in France, a kingdom which affects to be the foremost in the world, there are but 200,000 electors out of thirty two millions of inhabitants ; and a majority of the deputies, miscalled representatives of the people, are paid servants of the crown, hired to do its bidding at all times and on all occasions. And the worst of all is, that for this evil there seems to be no remedy ; the opponents of the government themselves agreeing with it, that Frenchmen are not sufficiently enlightened to choose their own legislators. It was only a few days since that I asked a Carlist nobleman, of high attainments and great intelligence, why the right of suffrage was not more extended here, and his reply was, " You know how I detest Louis Philippe, his ministry, and all that belongs to them ; and yet in this matter I think that they are blameless, for on my conscience I believe my countrymen to be wholly unfit for such an experiment." " Then why," was my answer, " do you not provide a remedy for the evil by gradually creating electors, who will be constrained by pride and interest to qualify themselves for the performance of their duty, when it is for want of such a remedy that wrongs are

tolerated, which, if perpetrated in England, or in one of the United States, would rouse the whole community to arms, unless speedily atoned for or repaired ?”

It cannot be denied that the affairs of Europe look gloomy and threatening, and yet I do not see how war can come out of them; for, to say nothing of the spirit of submission which has fallen upon every cabinet save that of Russia, the rich capitalists and bankers, who alone can provide the means for carrying it on, will be most backward in doing so, involved as they are in thousands of commercial speculations, the results of a long peace. And then, owing to the enormous investments lately made in railroads, and to the immense importation of breadstuffs within the last six months,—into France alone two fold greater than was ever known during an equal period,—specie is become so scarce that, to give you one instance of many, there now remains in the National Bank in Paris not one-third of two hundred and eighty millions, which were a little while ago within its vaults.

When I think on all these things, and call to mind the boundless elements of happiness within our reach at home, I cannot help cursing in my heart that passion for legislation, which will not leave man alone to work out his own prosperity, and that impious defiance of God’s eternal law and the good man’s humble prayer, which has already wasted in useless warfare, and is now, while I write, perhaps, pouring out like worthless water, the heart’s blood of many of the best and bravest among us.

P. S. In calling the war with Mexico an unnecessary one, I would not have it thought, either, that I am ignorant of the ostensible causes of it, the injuries and indignities suffered by us at her hands ; or, that I do not know on which side the sword was first drawn ; but I would express a firm conviction

that all difficulty might have been avoided, had there been exercised a more Christian forbearance towards a nation, hardly responsible for its acts because of its distracted state, or, had there been at the outset an exhibition of force sufficient to completely overawe it. Now, however, that an appeal to arms has been made, it behooves us all of every party, both for the sake of humanity and economy, to advocate such a vigorous prosecution of it as shall insure an issue, equally satisfactory to the honor and interests of our common country.

Paris, Jan. 2, 1847.

ARTICLE IV.

Of two speeches, anxiously looked for by some persons and curiously by all, only one has as yet been delivered. The King of the French has spoken. The Queen of England has in her turn to speak. His Majesty's, therefore, is alone before us, and it requires not a second perusal to convince any one how "fearfully and wonderfully" it is made. But to its author belongs the fear which its words imply, and to its readers the wonderment which, on dangerous occasions, words adroitly put together always inspire. Still Hope is its burden from beginning to end. If scarcity, portending famine, pervades the land, and if an exhausted National Bank menacing thousands with ruin, fills the commercial community with alarm, a reliance upon the Chambers seems to sustain the Royal speaker, though it cannot disguise his timorous anticipations. While protesting against an "infraction of trea-

ties," which he must have foreseen would be the inevitable consequence of "the marriage of his beloved son with his beloved niece," he has the hardihood to declare that, "His relations with all Foreign Powers afford him the firmest confidence that the peace of the world is insured."

With my letter, you will receive a copy of the Diplomatic Papers on the Spanish marriages, just laid upon the tables of the Chambers by M. Guizot, in which may be seen how easy it is to arrive at a disastrous result by pursuing in an unworthy manner an unworthy end. Stripped of all its trickish gloss, the story of the corresponding diplomatists, Lord Palmerston and M. Guizot, is a very plain one. Louis Philippe, long ago seeing he could not effect the marriage of his son with the Queen of Spain, resolved to content himself with the Infanta, her sister, and heir presumptive to her throne; soothing his paternal solicitude with the reflection that a dowry would be forthcoming, which a Spanish Princess of the olden time might have been proud to offer. To accomplish his object with the consent of England, an all-important consideration in his eyes, he agreed to wait till Isabella became the mother of children, provided that their father were of no other than the blood of Philip 5th. But then, in spite of his agreement, and as if in despite of England, he very coolly proceeded to carry out his scheme immediately, not because England had proved faithless to her engagements, but because forsooth she had not been as active as he would have had her in opposing certain intrigues in favor of a Coburg Prince, more nearly related, by the by, to his own family, than to that of the British sovereign.

You may say, that all this is a very small matter. True ! So was the passing of the Rubicon a small matter in itself. But the face of Europe is not the less changed on account of it, by the withdrawal of that moral force, however imaginary,

which stood between the oppressor and the oppressed, so long as England and France in outward show remained upon a friendly footing with each other. And war, so far from being an impossibility, is regarded by many as a highly probable, and not very distant, solution of present difficulties.

Wars, like whirlwinds, are doubtless curses for the time being, but a general war in Europe at this moment, in the same manner as those eccentric commotions in the atmosphere, with much temporary evil, might be productive of great permanent good. Let one arise, and Russia's systematic encroachments must be met in the first instance by Germany. And to do this successfully, resistance must come from a contented and united people. But to render the Germans either one or the other, concessions must be made to them by their rulers, which have long been sought for in vain. The King of Prussia, hardly an accountable being, because a slave to debasing habits, will be compelled to grant the constitution to his subjects, which for years has been promised, and for which they are fully prepared : The Emperor of Austria, born almost an idiot, will be obliged to relax his unholy grasp from provinces which do not belong to him : And it is not impossible that a liberal confederation may be constructed in Italy, which shall forever exclude from that land of perverted blessings the contaminating touch of foreign hands.

By the last steamer I informed you that the money in the vaults of the Bank of France was reduced from 280 millions to 80. A few days after writing I saw an official report, which showed that the eighty had dwindled to less than seventy-two. And at the present hour, although a loan from the Bank of England of 20 millions has been negotiated,—a single loaf to a starving family, especially when it is recollected that forty of the remaining seventy-two millions belong to the treasury, a panic in the money market may be looked for at

any time. Bankers are hoarding up their specie in trembling anticipation of what the morrow may bring forth, and hosts of traders are fearfully inquiring what policy the Bank is about to pursue, as means of discounting will daily decrease, because, among other reasons, money must go out of the kingdom in exchange for breadstuffs, without which the people will starve.

But the dearth in this country is plenteousness itself compared with the famine that walks at noonday, with pestilence at its heels, through wretched Ireland. And the object of this hasty letter is most respectfully to suggest, through your kind offices, that every American, who acknowledges the precepts of our divine religion, should instantly remit to that unhappy land every dollar which he can spare from his home charities, and even from his daily luxuries, without doing injustice to his own household.

Paris, Jan. 15, 1847.

ARTICLE V.

The French have an amiable custom of *tutoying* their intimate friends, that is, of making use, in familiar intercourse, of the second person in the singular instead of the plural number. Their children too in sweet and artless simplicity do the same. But whenever I hear a sudden *theeing* and *thouing* commenced by two "robustious periwig-pated fellows," who till lately have been at swords' points, or at best on terms of indifference, the suspicion invariably seizes me that before long they will make a visit early in the morn-

ing to the *Bois de Boulogne*,* there to refrigerate their untimely tenderness by a recurrence to those first principles of force which were antecedent to all human law.

England and France have, during the last few years, presented a somewhat parallel case to the one supposed. Bitter enemies almost since their recorded histories began, but fast friends never, their precocious love, like every unnatural product, has prematurely perished in the using of it. Yet, though the ill-will be not wanting, there is no present apprehension of their proceeding beyond angry words, since between the will and the power, fortunately for the world's peace, there is as wide a difference as between a surplus and deficient revenue, or, between a well-fed and starving population.

A few days subsequent to my last letter, the British Queen's speech was pronounced before her assembled Parliament. I do not say that it was made by her, because, as you are aware, she has no more to do in the construction of it than has the throne upon which she sits; and therefore, I presume, one cannot be charged with irreverence if he venture to criticise it. Its themes, you will perceive, are the misery of her Irish subjects, the Madrid fraud, and the Cracow crime. To remedy in some degree the first, the ports are to be opened, which, had it been done when Sir Robert Peel proposed it on his individual responsibility, would have saved a world of suffering and a mass of human life; then, the navigation-laws are to be suspended,—an excellent measure without doubt, but one that nine months ago would have brought forth ninety-fold more good than it will now; and lastly, a substitute, in certain establishments, will be allowed to replace that enor-

* Rendezvous of duellists.

mous portion of man's food, which has hitherto been turned into the poison that destroys him.

With regard to the second subject of the Royal Discourse,—the Montpensier marriage, a solemn announcement is made, that “a correspondence exists,”—a statement which, however pertinent, could hardly have taken any one by surprise, seeing that every body had had for days an opportunity of reading the said correspondence from beginning to end a dozen times. Nor would the world have been lost in amazement, had it been also told, that this same correspondence originated, according to the Speaker's own knowledge, in gross prevarication, that it abounded in pitiful, personal altercation, unworthy to appear in State Papers, and that for special pleading it would do no discredit to an Old Bailey practitioner.

Against “the Extinction of the Free State of Cracow,”—the third matter treated of, it is declared that a “Protest has been made,”—a thing of far less value than the parchment upon which it was engrossed, for who ever heard of a protest, which is a contemptible avowal of excess of will and want of power, six months after its utterance?

In thus briefly reviewing the words of Royalty spoken on the other side of the channel, as has been already done by me in respect to those lately delivered upon this, my object is to show your readers that, when considered in relation to that much traduced document, an American President's Message, they gain nothing by the comparison.

I am most unwilling to minister to a foolish national vanity, but, as partly suggested by what has just been said, I will add, what has often occurred to me, that the obloquy, so freely cast upon us and ours by strangers, seems to take its rise, not in a desire to correct our errors, but in envy of our unexampled prosperity, and not in contempt, but in distrust of

our increasing strength, which is seen to be independent of foreign influences. Let us take heed to ourselves, therefore, and ever bear in mind that, if there be mischief in store for us, it can be provoked into life, even according to such tacit admission of unfriends, only by our own wantonness or wickedness.

As England with its 800 millions sterling of debt, and France with its annual 75 millions of francs deficit, know that for them war is impracticable, and that their mutual security depends in a great measure upon the united front which can be presented by them to the world, they are now engaged in a small game of coquetry, and trying by indirect means to solder the slivered *entente cordiale*, to which the ministerial journals on both sides, properly instructed of course, lend their hearty, though covert, aid. And this endeavor to preserve peace, whatever be the motive, and whatever the sacrifice of dignity, must gladden the hearts of the wise and good, for there can be no reasonable doubt that, even in the actual state of the Christian world, imperfectly civilized and still less christianized as it is, not a single interest can be found, whose vindication requires the shedding of one drop of human blood. But, nevertheless, the citizens of the New World have no slight reason for self-gratulation that their interests are not wrapt up with those of the Old, for never did the affairs of the latter wear a gloomier aspect, except when war, with its insatiate cry, was raging through the land. It is no exaggeration, though it may be self-repetition on my part, to say that there is not a State on this side of the Atlantic which is, either internally or externally, in a safe and satisfactory condition at the present moment. Russia, a nation of bondsmen ruled with an iron rod, has, like the first murderer, her hand against every one and every one's hand against her. For even the wretched tools in her late deeds of darkness,

flimsy Austria and factious Prussia, tremble with hate as well as fear before her, because in an hour of need, and *their* turns will come, they can look in no quarter for effectual succor, so long as they insanely combat the righteous demands of their subjects, whose intense though noiseless enthusiasm reminds one of the melted lava at the crater's edge, waiting but for the fitting moment to boil over with death-dealing fury. England, on the one hand, can claim feeble Portugal alone for an ally, which, after the exhaustion of its puny strength in civil broils, will be worse than a dead weight on her shoulders ; and France, on the other, has only a hireling handmaiden in distracted Spain, that in any emergency will prove, as has always been the case, a curse instead of a blessing to her. And this too while the people of both countries are daily going from bad to worse, morally and physically, as must ever happen, when food-riots are the employment of honest men and the pastime of rogues.

But passing by all this for the time being, I would refer, if space yet remains for the purpose, to two subjects, which, though not germane to any thing till now spoken of by me, have of late painfully attracted my attention, as they ought that of every American.

It is our constant vaunt that ours is a land of liberty ; and, thank Heaven, so it is. Liberty, both personal and political, is ours in right and possession. But have we *social* liberty ? No, not a particle of it. And I hesitate in nowise to say so, though my words will probably excite as little sympathy as did the lamentations of poor Pepys over the rent in his new cloak. Still the rent did not less mar the beauty of the garment, and, believe me, that the absence of that graceful regard to the privacies of life, which spreads a charm over existence, detracts in no slight degree from the amenities of society. Certainly it is a great thing that among us a man's

property is his own, to do with it what shall seem to him best ; and we can never too dearly prize that law which saves the meanest individual from an imprisonment of months on *mere suspicion*—an affair of common occurrence in France,—to be afterwards thrust into the streets, neither innocent nor guilty in the world's esteem, to meet, what I have known, a once flourishing family changed into paupers, prostitutes and plunderers, for lack of a father's care. But is it a small matter that, in our cities as well as our villages, no time, nor place, nor circumstance is holy from the intrusion of the prying eye, the tattling tongue and the slanderous pen ?—that the incomings and outgoings of every one are known to all and are the subject of criticism to all ? The gossiping busy-bodies of Boston and New York, “whose name is Legion,” and who pass their time in “inquiring for some new thing,” it matters not whether false or true, are better acquainted, perhaps, with their neighbors' concerns than with their own. And in, at least partial, corroboration of my words, I will mention, though it shames me to do so, what has lately come to my knowledge, that in these cities statements are annually published and *patronised too*, describing the parentage, property and lives of persons who, so far from ever having obtruded themselves on public notice, were always content to go on “in the quiet tenor of their ways,” and in the modest performance of every duty. Such things should not be.

The other of the two subjects above alluded to, and one which interests me quite as strongly and not more agreeably than the first, is the licentious American practice of giving introductory letters, without regard to the merits of the bearers of them, and in contempt of the rights of those to whom they are addressed. So prevalent and odious has it become, that recommendations from the other side of the water are beginning to be considered as serious afflictions, and are sometimes

very properly rejected by purposed victims, on the ground that they are unacquainted with their would-be tormentors. One instance among many, illustrative of the existence of this intolerable nuisance, will suffice to show that I "speak by the card." An English gentleman, conspicuous alike for his public and private virtues, his high rank and position in society, but who, in an evil hour for his future comfort, once visited the United States, is to this day overwhelmed with scriptory impertinencies of transatlantic growth, which would drive a less patient and amiable man than himself stark mad. And what renders the matter still worse is, that these letters of introduction, written frequently with self-serving or political views, are sometimes given to those who, "not to speak it profanely, have neither the accent of Christians, nor the gait of christian, pagan, nor man, they imitate humanity so abominably." What then must be the stretch of audacity which can coolly impose such persons on, perhaps, a public officer, whose time is not his own ; or on a private individual, who has imperative duties which fill up every hour ?

I am happy, however, to be able to state that most of our countrymen who have filled important stations abroad, and many of those, whose reputation, preceding their arrival in Europe, rendered them objects of attention, carefully abstain from punishing in the manner described, their entertainers for the hospitality shown to themselves and families. But there are some grievous exceptions even among these, which serve to keep the evil in painful remembrance, and such should be held up to universal reprobation.

Paris, Feb. 15, 1847.

ARTICLE VI.

Time seems in Europe to be "out of joint." Months fly by, and the gloomy reality they leave behind looks bright in comparison with the dark prospect which the coming months reveal. Every day increases the perplexity of yesterday ; every event makes "confusion worse confounded ;" and the anxious enquiry on all sides is, when and how this painful uncertainty is like to end.

Since the departure of the last steamer for America a Royal decree has been promulgated at Berlin which must powerfully and permanently affect, in all their relations, the inhabitants of Prussia. Thirty-two years ago their King, **FREDERICK WILLIAM III.**, promised them a constitutional representation, in recompense for their heroic and successful efforts to repel the French invasion, This promise, never forgotten, though few only of those to whom the pledge was originally given are probably now alive to witness its redemption, has at length been partially fulfilled by his successor, the reigning sovereign. True, the flood-gates of civil rights have not been thrown widely open, but an additional sluice, as it were, has been raised which can never be shut again ; for the Germans are proverbially as tenacious in holding fast to what they have secured, as they are patient in waiting for that which has been once guaranteed to them. And if the boon now bestowed is in appearance but a poor apology for a constitution, still it points the way to better things which are yet in store.

It would be unjust, however, to suppose that this popular concession is a solitary leap from absolutism to liberalism ;

for within less than the last half century, such has been the progress towards freedom in Prussia, that the legalized voters there more than doubly outnumber those in France. The first forward step ever taken was to abolish the local jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Seigniors, and, by consequence, to elevate serfs to the condition of freemen : The second, to create municipal corporations, wherein citizens of even moderate means enjoy the right of suffrage : The third, to provide for the maintenance of religion and popular instruction : And the fourth, to organize a militia, which, in an hour of dire extremity, sent the foreign tyrant vanquished to his home, and will not prove less effective, should the unhappy occasion offer, against domestic tyranny. But all this in no-wise detracts from the high credit due to those Councillors of the Crown, who dared, at the present critical moment, to act as they have done, in defiance of Russian opposition, Austrian remonstrance, and, strange as it may sound, French repugnance. For it was while the three Northern Courts were in joint deliberation, at the suggestion of England, upon the course to be pursued by them in respect to the Montpensier controversy, that the attempt was made by these bold men to liberalize still further the institutions of their country, whose sympathy and aid they openly, though not officially, announced could be surely counted upon by their former ally of Sax-on blood, in any difficulty which might arise out of the Spanish marriages.

But what has been done by Prussia, like every thing else now taking place, seems only to complicate still more the actual state of affairs ; because, notwithstanding she is alienated to a certain extent from her late coadjutors in crime, any approximation to the self-styled champion of liberal institutions upon the Continent of Europe is not thereby rendered *more* easy. And constitutional France herself must, in her

turn, if she would avoid complete isolation, take an unnatural refuge in the arms of those very enemies to liberty, whose outrageous conduct towards Italy, Switzerland, and Poland, she has been professedly deprecating for years. But even this it is doubtful whether she will be allowed to do, for these Powers have merely tolerated her revolutionary King, and the Sovereign, to whom the Duchess of Montpensier is presumptive heiress, has never been recognized by them as the rightful occupant of the Spanish throne. And if not admitted to the fellowship of overbearing Russia and tyrannic Austria, in what direction can she look for support? If she is in the ascendant at Madrid, she is not so in Spain: In Italy she is not beloved,—in Turkey she is distrusted,—in Holland she is hated, and throughout Germany she is feared.

Another affair which bodes no good, is the peremptory and rebellious refusal of the Bey of Tunis to receive a special Minister from Constantinople; the consequent despatch of a Turkish squadron to demand satisfaction; and the hasty equipment of several government ships at Toulon, to ward off the anger of the justly incensed Sultan from France's *prolégé*. This latter, contrary to all rule and right, was received at the Tuileries as an independent potentate, because it was desirable to lift him above the authority of the Porte, so that his territory might not hereafter be made use of as an hostile entry to the Franco-African possessions, in case of a general war. The missive inquisition from his Lord paramount, which he so cavalierly rejected, is imputed, on French authority, to the malicious spirit of England;—just as is also, and with as little semblance of truth, a most unloyal encouragement of the two Pretenders to the Spanish and Portuguese thrones. But it is useless to search so far for an inciting cause, when there is so near at hand an all sufficient one to account for the indignation of the Sultan and its consequen-

ces. It was both the duty and privilege of the Turkish Ambassador to officiate at the presentation of the Tunisian Bey, a subject like himself ; and that he was very improperly prevented from doing so by the French Government, when he had formerly introduced Ibrahim Pacha, and would have done the same for Mehemet Ali himself, had he visited the country, affords an adequate solution of what has happened.

There is nothing which more strongly marks the troublous state of the present times than the raising of troops and money, or the attempt to do so, in every quarter. France has just voted between four and five millions of francs to the increase of her effective force in the interior, and every soldier absent on the usual six months' furlough is ordered to return to his post. Anarchical Spain would do as much and more, were it not that her law of recruitment, owing to Carlist influence, is successfully resisted, and that, while even rickety Austria can effect a loan of forty millions of florins, she cannot lay her hand upon a single dollar which belongs to her, the national revenues having been pledged for years, to repay the enormous sums that her worthless rulers have wasted in their reckless course of folly and crime. Certain of the Swiss Cantons are making military preparations, which are so far beyond their means that they must be the work of some foreign hand : In Portugal, where the tottering Queen could not keep her place a single day but for English support, the pillage of banks, in the name of a junta, and forced contributions, have superseded, amid civil broils, the necessity of regular supplies : And into Poland regiment follows regiment in such quick succession that they already number one hundred thousand men, in whose presence a groaning population yields without submission to the law of the sword.

But of far more pressing import than either of the facts I have mentioned, is the daily increasing scarcity of food

throughout all Europe. Famine sits by the hearth of the million, and laughs at every attempt to dislodge her. In parts of Scotland, as well as in Ireland, to such fearful extremities are men reduced, that the dead are left for the dying to bury. And even in several departments of France, a country better provided for than most others, the farmer hardly dare carry his grain to market for fear of leaving his life there with his merchandize ; because the empty hand of the peasant, with wife and children looking to it for bread, sets at defiance the official sword, which frequently drops from the dead hand of him who was compelled to draw it in a loathsome cause.

And whence comes all this ? Is it from the failure of a harvest, or the destruction of a crop ? No ! These may be the occasion, but they are not the cause of the evil. The cause lies deeper. It lies in the perverse contravention of that great law of the Almighty—the base and groundwork of the economy of nations as well as of individuals—the first free-trade principle ever enunciated, which teaches us to “ love our neighbor as ourselves and to do unto others as we would have that they should do unto us.” In blind and impious defiance of this holy precept, nations have refused to receive, in fair exchange for their own products, the gifts of nature at the hands of strangers ; and, through greediness of gain, which they vainly imagined must be in exact proportion to the loss of others, they have succeeded in entailing a curse upon their several soils. But had the rule of action, which the All-wise Lawgiver first promulgated, been duly observed, even since the commencement of the present century, the cry of famishing wretches would never have been heard, as it now is, in one part of the globe, when there is food enough and to spare in others ; want would have dogged the steps of idleness alone, and industry would have asked no paid advo-

cate to uphold its inalienable right to a fair proportion in the fruits of the earth.

England and France are on no better terms than they were a month since ; nor can much cordiality be expected between their governments while M. GUIZOT is at the head of one of them. He seems to be at the same time stern and timid,—an austere puritan, whose principles direct him aright, but whose inclinations, or the inclinations of others higher than himself, lead him astray. He is bold by fits and starts, and like a bashful, not a modest, man, is occasionally capable of going greater lengths than the most fool-hardy impertinent. In his remarkable Protest against the absorption of Cracow, for instance, having first timorously and unconditionally declared, “That the Treaties of 1815 would be observed by him,” a little time after, when one of the government supporters, M. VATTEL, let slip,—“That France could free herself from the execution of them whenever her interests required it,” and M. ODILLON BARROT pointed out the discrepance of the two statements, he rashly and jesuitically replied,—“That he had, when protesting against the act of the Northern Courts, taken formal note of facts as being contrary to right, in order hereafter to draw such consequences from them as the legitimate interests of France would advise, and that it was with such reservation that he spoke of observing the Treaties ”:—an explanation which was received with ridicule and laughter by the French themselves. Still they are so content at his having circumvented the English Ministry, and at last defied it, that they willingly pardon him the means employed ; and as he has a large working majority in the two Chambers, which there is no present prospect of overthrowing, he will probably continue in office till the King, seeing the impossibility of even a *quasi entente cordiale* but by the sacrifice of his Minister, forces him to resign on some ques-

tion of finance, or other matter got up expressly for the occasion. And this is the less unlikely because, as if affairs were not already sufficiently embroiled, he saw fit the other day, in the Tribune of the Deputies, to give Lord NORMANBY almost the lie direct, the consequences of which, as detailed in all the journals, it will be easily conceived, were most unsatisfactory to his peacefully disposed Sovereign.

Paris, March 15, 1847.

ARTICLE VII.

There has lately been a national Fast in England, specially ordained, in the words of the Royal proclamation, "to avert the heavy judgments of the Almighty;" as though that great and good Being would punish the poor Irish for the sins of their tormentors; or, as if these last, by a self-inflicted penance of twenty-four hours, could expiate the iniquities they have been perpetrating towards a dependent country ever since the scandalous *annexation* of it.

Men are ready enough to cry out, "It is the hand of God!" whenever a calamity, national or individual, befalls them; but they are not so hasty to acknowledge a diabolical agency when the work of their own hands is evil. So the English people, impiously laying at the door of Providence the awful accumulation of woe beneath which Ireland is literally writhing, seem to forget that it is their own misrule, and not heaven's wrath, which is depopulating one of heaven's fairest regions. They fancy that their consciences are void of offence towards their starving fellow-subjects, because the failure of a certain crop to which millions looked for subsist-

ence, could not be imputed to them; but whose fault was it that a whole nation's welfare turned upon the healthy state of a single root? Posterity will regard with contemptuous horror the besotted bigotry which, till within a few years, robbed the Irish Roman Catholic of his dues; legalizing a deputed tyranny, the worst sort of oppression, in his land; and fitting him, like the over-driven bullock, to stumble and fall at the very first obstacle.

Yet, how much is there to admire in the English character, although till recently the English government has been the most arrogant and overbearing on the face of the earth, and Englishmen themselves have shown how practicable it is to live and flourish in the enjoyment of an inordinate self-esteem, and in sovereign indifference to the opinions of others. Napoleon, as is well known, called them a nation of shopkeepers; but, commercial as may be their habits, the narrow, peddling spirit which animates the rulers of the people whom he governed, cannot be laid to their charge. After recognising the justice of a claim, the House of Commons would have paid, and not have attempted to elude it, as was done in the case of the twenty-five millions of francs, extorted from the Chamber of Deputies by General Jackson's rude but well directed measures. And in corroboration of my remark, observe with what high and politic motives the payment of the interest on the Russian-Dutch loan is continued, in compliance with the spirit and in defiance of the letter of the bond. *May certain defaulting members of a kindred community soon follow so bright an example, and, without being more generous, learn to be more just.*

Every American who reads the brief but feelingly eloquent observations upon his countrymen's benevolence, made by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, or the honorable tribute paid to it by journals of either political party in London, must experience

a becoming gratification at the consciousness that worthy conduct has not been unworthily appreciated. But on the other hand, with mingled emotions of shame and regret, he will be forced to recollect that among the national representatives at Washington there were found men who, in despite of the teachings of charity, dared to set themselves in array against the Senate's wisdom and public opinion, by refusing to bestow a few thousand dollars, which would have kept many a famishing wretch from death. It cannot be urged that the grant of \$500,000 would have been unconstitutional, without admitting also, that the loan of ships, which cannot be made without incurring a certain expense, is likewise unconstitutional.

Great exultation has been felt, or affected here, on account of a purchase recently made by the Russian Emperor, of certain French securities, because, among other reasons, of the confidence and good will it is thought to indicate on his part. But his sole motive appears to have been an anxiety to facilitate the exportation of grain from his own dominions. And the idea that he is seized with a sudden desire, or has chosen the clumsiest of all means, to propitiate a Power, ready at all times, and at a single word of encouragement, to do him homage, is as absurd as the suspicion, that with the trifling sum of two millions sterling, he hopes to exercise a controlling influence over its future condition.

The present embarrassing condition of France in respect to food, is chiefly attributable to the remissness of ministers who, although seasonably and repeatedly warned of the coming dearth by one of their own officers, the very person on whose authority I write, wilfully closed their ears to the threatened danger, for fear of exciting a premature alarm, and of thereby damaging their prospects at the elections then close at hand. Even the government journal now admits that "there has been an extreme want of foresight," and the truth

of its words is confirmed by daily accounts of food-riots in many of the departments, with all their fatal consequences. Frequent convictions before the tribunals follow of course; but, paradoxical as it may appear, the wonder is, that they are not either more or less frequent. For above all praise, is the virtue which can refrain from violence when wife and children are crying for bread, and stern must be the heart that can punish the miserable peasant whom distress has driven to desperation. Much, however, as other parts of the kingdom may suffer, Paris is always secure from want, for the good King Louis Philippe knows full well that on its contentment hangs the fate of his august dynasty.

The charge continually made against France is that she is resolved, whatever it may cost, to make the Mediterranean a French lake; and if it be well founded, no one can deny that the steps as yet taken by her have been most skilfully arranged. Her influence, it is said, has placed the Bey of Tunis in hostile attitude towards his liege Lord; prepared the Emperor of Morocco, whenever occasion shall offer, to deny the supremacy of the Porte; and instigated the King of Greece openly to insult the Turkish Representative at the Court of Athens. England, however, never sleeps, and before long the scene may shift, another act of the Palmerstonian policy in Syria be presented, which shall put each of the performers in his proper place.

Spain is sinking deeper into the mire every day. Her debt is nearly equal to the half of England's enormous burden, and by giving preference to domestic over foreign creditors she has been guilty of as flagrant an act of repudiation as was ever committed in America. Her ministers, in contempt of justice and decency, have within a few weeks driven from the Senate a distinguished individual, whose only crime was a refusal to assume the command in a distant province, where

all the world knew that a prison was in readiness for his reception. And her queen, disgusted at a first interview with an imbecile partner, neither is, nor is like to be, in a way to prevent the Montpensier issue, now soon expected, from mounting the throne.

Portugal would be without a sovereign tomorrow were it not that England lends a moral, but at the same time a most immoral, aid to support a cause which should be left to perish in its own infamous weakness.

But, notwithstanding these and other dark pictures, which regard to truth compels one to draw, all things are constantly working together for the gradual emancipation of man from the rule of hereditary power, and nothing, I am convinced, as you may one day be, will more effectually contribute to such a happy consummation than the opening of every port in Europe and America to manly competition and unshackled intercourse.

Paris, April 1, 1847.







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